

/117 cont./

342 Anyone can build himself a house of whatever size he
 761 wishes on his own land in the mountains, as well as on the above-
 783 mentioned community land in the valley, but he must first ask
 • [75] the shaman acting for him whether any bones of the Pijao are in
 the ground on the piece of land in mind. As comes out in the
 [773] myths, the Pijao in ancient times were the frightful and militarily
 [628] cleverer enemies of the Paez. Their bones (ec' ndyít Pijao) contain
 961 "pest." This pest is a very complex and significant concept
 783 among the Paez (cf. under "Religion" /see p. 191/), and the
 123 pest of the Pijao bones is capable of killing the people living
 above them. How very much our interpreter Victoriano, one of
 the most enlightened Paez, was affected by this fear came out
 when he worked with us in the archeological park in San Andrés.
 For lack of space he had to sleep in the tool room, where, how-
 ever, he felt very comfortable and, with a camp bed and mattress,
 had built himself probably the best bed of his life. One day we
 opened a large prehistoric grave-chamber, which contained more
 than 80 bone-urns with the remains of cremations. Since we
 could not accommodate such a large number of urns in our living
 room, which at the same time served as our museum, we had to
 put a number of them in the tool room. I left the skeletal re-
 mains in several of them in order to save them for a later exami-
 nation. Weeping, Victoriano begged me please not to put in his
 tool room any urns containing bones, because the bones might
 have come from the Pijao, who would surely kill him. Even the
 washed and cleaned urns, he assured us, contained very much
 "pest," so that at the next opportunity he wanted to go to Calderas
 and have himself "purified" by his home shaman. He failed to
 do this, and when after a few days he had a toothache, he traced
 this back to the action of the pest from the burial urns previously
 filled with bones.

342 /118/ The shaman's testing of the ground proposed as the
 761 building site is not done by digging or sampling the ground;
 783 rather, the one who wishes to build goes to the house of the shaman
 756 in the evening with coca, tobacco, and brandy, tells him of his
 787 wish, and then both sit down on the ground next to each other

/118 cont./

342 and begin to chew coca and tobacco and to drink brandy to-
 761 gether. After a while the shaman ascertains through signs in
 789 his arms or legs whether bones of the Pijao are in the ground.
 ● 756 If this is not the case, the building may be started; otherwise
 787 the man must look for another building site. After the building
 is finished, a further ceremony is performed (see under "Religion"
 342 /see p. 205/), and then the same shaman fastens special herbs
 752 to the roof to prevent the ec̃ or gelyómp spirit, hostile to man,
 789 from entering the house from there.

Houses are built only by men, by fathers of families.
 342 One man alone, however, is not in a position to do this. At
 476 least in the erection of the house posts he is helped by his brothers,
 [462] as well as by other men and friends who have nothing else to
 do anyway on these days and receive chicha and something to
 342 eat for their assistance. The building material costs nothing,
 273 to be sure, but the builder must furnish a substantial amount of
 476 chicha, for which planning must be begun in plenty of time, two
 or three years beforehand, by the planting of sufficient sugar
 cane. This is the task of the married son who is still living in
 [594] his father's house this long. To make the chicha he also still
 [249] needs the sugar mill of his father, upon whose consent and help,
 [461] therefore, much depends. According to the amount of chicha
 that is available, the building of the house thus lasts two to six
 months, depending on whether only five or 15 men participate.

The most important thing in the construction of the house
 342 is the erection of the wooden frame (Ills. 161 to 164 /see p.272 /).
 335 which always requires several men who bring in the trees, which
 [476] are superficially smoothed with the machete, but not freed of
 bark. The master of the house is able to make the walls by
 [462] himself in an emergency. The covering of the roof, too, like the
 entire house construction, is men's work, but the woman of the
 house may hand up the sugar-cane leaves for the roofing. First
 the vertical corner and side posts of the outer walls (yátsinda) are
 erected, then the outer beams lying horizontally on the side
 posts to support the roof (yátpopānt) are laid on, and, as the third
 step in the work, the horizontal crossbeams (bikas) are fastened at

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/136 cont. /

276 are naturally more in evidence than in the case of the use of
146 coca with good nutrition and as the only indulgence. Along
273 with improved nutrition and corresponding enlightenment, a
prohibition on brandy instead of its propagation would be more
desirable for the health of the people than a prohibition on coca.
[651] The departments, however, draw their chief income from the
P brandy tax, whereas coca was always tax-free.

276 Tobacco (wáhi) is neither planted by the Paez nor con-
[249] sumed in large amounts, since there is generally no money
available for the purchase of tobacco or cigarettes. Both sexes,
P however, smoke gift cigarettes, and, to be sure, from child-
hood, that is, from two to three years of age. The shamans
• [755] in their séances and ceremonies are in the habit of chewing
[755] cigarette tobacco along with coca, but it is always purchased.
These séances last many hours or throughout the night, during
which shamans and patients together chew this mixture uninter-
ruptedly.

P
273 Chicha (pronounced tchitscha) is one of the alcoholic
[171] beverages which, made out of various raw materials, are wide-
spread among the natives /137/ throughout South America, with
manioc chicha predominating in the forest region (Venezuela,
Brazil) and maize chicha in the Andean region (Cooper, pp.
539 f. and Map 11). Two methods of production are distin-
guished, according to whether it is a matter of raw materials
with a high sugar content (honey, sugar cane, palm sap, pine-
apple) or more starchy crops (manioc, maize). The former ferment
without the addition of saliva and need not be chewed in the
preparation; the latter need human saliva before or after cook-
ing in order to ferment.

P
[137] Among the Paez chicha (mbéca) is made only from the
juice of sugar cane, a raw material that is not American, but
came from southern Asia and did not come to America until the
post-Columbian period (Maurizio, 1933, p. 75). Formerly
chicha was made out of maize, as it still is today among the
neighbors of the Paez living in higher regions (for example, the
Guambiano). The name for sugar-cane juice, nyúayumfi

/185 cont./

844 until very late and only with great difficulty. The proper depth is supposed to be about 30 centimeters.

846 Four to six days after birth and after the first bath, the
851 father or one of the godparents brings the child to the sacristan of
608 the village or /186/ to the women missionaries, in order to have
[797] it christened with water and given the name of the Christian saint
[551] of the christening day. Every child has only one given name and
the Paez surname of its father. The baptism by the priest with oil
takes place later on a suitable occasion, in the presence of the god-
[783] parents, and is followed by an eating and drinking bout. The
[756] mother also takes part in this, after she has left the dúyat and has
washed herself, her child, and her clothes and has been purified by
the shaman.

861 The rearing of the children is in the hands of the parents,
who teach them the necessary accomplishments of life quite as a
matter of course and almost in play. Disobedient children are
also beaten, however, and, to be sure, usually if the son has no
real desire to help his father with the field work. In punishing,
the fathers are generally stricter than the mothers and on occasion
beat them with leather straps all over their bodies. The boxing
[461] of ears is also to be seen. If a young man proves to be lazy in
later life, the father is blamed because he did not properly ad-
848 monish his son to work. Illegitimate sons, who lack the strict
hand of a father, are said to turn out badly in many cases, though
as such they are very popular. Since they do not know their father,
they are not obliged to work in his field. They are all the more
[426] in demand as helpers in the fields of other families. When they
[431] are older, they may borrow land and establish a family. Usually
they even receive the land as a present. Thus, they need not
848 starve by any means. Illegitimate daughters are in a more unfavor-
562 able position, for their help is not needed for the most part, and
their mother does not have a household of her own. Nevertheless
[583] their marriage prospects are not unfavorable, since a girl does not
[581] have a dowry, but is married only on the basis of her personal
qualities.

/196 cont./

764 It is dug out about 1.50 meters and at the bottom provided with
184 a lateral longitudinal niche about 40 centimeters high. This niche is generally hollowed out on the left side, but sometimes on the right. The body is laid in this, without the bier and without accessories, horizontally on its back, so that it no longer extends into the shaft of the grave. The shaft and the niche are, in addition, separated by vertical stakes and rods placed side by side so that the deceased cannot be touched by the earth filling the grave. On the latter, a stone about one meter high is placed at the head or foot end for identification.

[793] The priest is not present at a burial, nor is the shaman who
[756] acts for the district of the deceased. The latter also does not enter a house in which there is a dead person. The participants in the funeral procession, men, women, and children, go to the graveyard together and then back again to the house of the deceased, where lavish entertainment with food, chicha, and brandy now follows. The latter was also drunk copiously on the way to and from the burial place. The mood during the entire time is jolly and animated; people laugh and make jokes. Before the
756 participants enter the house upon their return from the burial,
764 they must go to the river where the shaman awaits them, in order
783 to "cleanse" them of the "pest" of the deceased for the first time
184 (see "Religion"). Then they go together to the house of the deceased, which they may not enter, however, until the shaman has also cleansed this with the same remedies with which he freed the human beings of the "pest." These are water, to which special herbs and cow excrement are added, sprinkled everywhere, as well as brandy, which, mixed with herbs, the shaman squirts everywhere.

764 In Togoima we were able to take part in the burial of two
184 small children (angelitos). The graves of the cemetery in this town all have an east-west direction. The niche is always at the left, the body lies on its back with the head toward the west. The size of the grave required is measured with a bamboo stick that is
[273] as long as the deceased. Before the burial, there is drinking,
[535] music, and dancing in the house. /197/ Music is also played at
[533] the burial and on the way to the graveyard.

/255 cont. /

902 designated as "much" (teč kwát), literally "one stone." Today it is the designation for "hundred."

75 The medical knowledge of the Paez is not great. Almost all illnesses are regarded as based on magical causes and are treated by the shamans (see below // see pp. 190 ff. /). Broken bones are treated by the midwife, who rubs on cow fat and wraps [849] leaves around them. The broken bone is never put in splints. In a difficult birth the midwife is able to turn the child into the right position; if then the birth does not go well, her skill is at an end. No remedy is known for snake bite. In the case of headaches, a leaf is tied to the front of the head. For flatulence some wood ashes are rubbed on the abdomen. For injuries caused by a machete and bleeding profusely, a tourniquet is applied to the affected limb, above the place of the injury, and the wound is covered with a small piece of cloth. The shaman has the injured person bite hard with all his teeth on the iron machete.

3. Religion

771 The Paez today are nominally Christians. They are baptized
797 and usually married by the Catholic priest. The Christian mission-
izing began as early as the sixteenth century, at first, to be sure,
with little success, which did not increase when from 1630-1654 Jesuit
missionaries took over the mission work. Only in the last decades
797 has there been greater progress. Hand in hand with the conversion
177 to Christianity go the introduction and teaching of the Spanish lan-
871 guage and the adoption of Colombian customs and habits. Today
in almost every village there is a mission station and a school, the
teachers of which are mostly women missionaries. In general the
parents do not send their children to school unwillingly, for they
have realized that knowledge of Spanish and of reading and writing
is accompanied by certain advantages in their relations with the
[778] whites. In connection with the /256/ schooling, of course, there is
• [756] some alienation from the old habits and customs of the Paez, espe-
cially those of a religious and sociological nature. Nevertheless,

/256 cont./

797 in all Paez communities in which Spanish is not understood by the
177 majority of the population, the old functionaries of the original
178 Paez religion are needed to maintain the social life in particular.

871 In accordance with their activity, they are designated as "shamans"
●756 by theologians. Because of the dissimilar nature of their religious
activity, they do not by any means represent unbridgeable competition for the Christian missions; rather, both, the Christian faith and shamanistic activity, can exist side by side in the present stage of culture of the Paez.

771 If one considers existing theological convictions, one finds
793 that the office and dignity of the cult priest rest on the performance
756 of sacred acts which must of necessity be fulfilled so that the
182 natural and normal development of human existence is not obstructed. His task is to confirm the existing world order through the consecration of sacerdotal acts. The shamans, however, -- on the contrary! -- want to outdo and break through the given order of nature and the environment. Their greatness and authority rest on the fact that they do supernatural things, that they heal the sick, struggle with spirits, yes, awaken the dead to new life. This, at any rate, is said of the greatest of their kind, whose talent lies in their spiritual, supernatural powers, in their mastering of extraordinary circumstances. Over against the cult priest's "thus it is," the shaman puts his "thus it should be" (A. Friedrich).

a) Characteristics of Paez Shamanism

756 The Paez shamans, in the sense given, are not functionaries
754 of a sacrificial cult, but persons who do supernatural things. There are two types of them, the teyu and the nyic. Whereas the teyu (tepits as a man, téoi as a woman) is a good shaman, a good doctor and helper of human beings, the nyic is an evil shaman, an evil sorcerer, a hexer. The shamanistic activity of both, however, as a religious phenomenon, is not nearly as distinctive as, for example, the shamanism that we are familiar with in Siberia or North America.

/256 cont./

771 It is not certain whether in former times the Paez had a cult
 793 priesthood besides shamans such as are practicing today. In any
 756 case, to designate the priests and missionaries they use the word
 797 tikwe, /257/ which is not used for anything else. The present-
 771 day characteristic thinking of the Paez, their entire mental atti-
 754 tude, revolves around magic and countermagic, despite mission-
 797 izing and Christianity. No injury, no illness, no deformity, no
 177 poor livestock is traced back to natural causes, but rather every-
 thing is the work of evil magic. Since the people themselves
 are fully convinced of this belief and ensnared by this idea, the
 actual achievement of the evil sorcerers corresponds to what is
 desired; that is to say, a person who knows he is bewitched,
 being mindful of the inevitability of his fate, actually becomes
 554 ill and dies. The victims are almost always the most thrifty
 and industrious members of the community, those who tower
 above the others because of their success.

754 There are no persons who are privileged because of age,
 177 sex, or social position -- with the exception of the good shamans,
 who are incessantly the target of the evil ones. Anyone who, in
 dress and way of living, adopts the customs of the whites, is in
 the habit of associating with them, no longer chews coca, works
 with modern tools, and wants to carry on his farming according
 to the principles of the colonists is opposed by the nyic.

754 It is not only the outward superiority of the individual over
 554 the masses that evokes the envy of the nyic, but also the general
 popularity of an individual, and with it a certain personal influ-
 ence within the village. Thus, for example, the father of our
 Victoriano was the victim of an evil charm. He is regarded as very
 intelligent, is a good worker, knows best how to build houses and
 bridges, and has even undertaken a journey to the city of Popayán.
 On account of his popularity and the good advice he always gives --
 so it is reported -- a nyic tried to kill him out of envy. One
 155 night when he was asleep the nyic robbed him of his soul. His
 brother noticed it, however, and spat coca on it. The next day
 the eye of the bewitched one became white and was close to
 running out, if a teyu had not helped. He is blind in that eye,
 however, to this day.

/258 cont. /

754 Afterward his throat began to dry out and he could breathe only with difficulty, until he finally died.

754 The evil shamans are not generally known publicly. Men as well as women, however, may be teyu and nyic. In fact, the most famous and clever teyu whom we met was an old woman, Felisa Ipia in Santa Rosa, who at the same time, however, is regarded as the most evil sorceress who ever existed. All the sickness and misfortune in Santa Rosa are ascribed to her acts. For this reason the cabildo once burned all her medicinal herbs and broke her shaman's staff. But people no longer dare to undertake anything serious against her, since they fear her, as they do all evil sorcerers. In former times the convicted nyic were always very severely punished, but since many members of the cabildo have died as a result of sorcery, no one any longer dares to accuse the well-known nyic today.

754 /259/ With regard to the problem of male and female shamans, 756 a teyu from Calderas explained that women as such had an excellent 562 sense of feeling and therefore the best talent as shamans. Since they are more crafty and cunning than men, however, the female shamans can transform themselves into an evil sorceress at any time. And that is precisely what makes them so dangerous and hence unfit for the calling of a good shaman.

754 The border between teyu and nyic, therefore, is flexible. 756 Both aspects of shamanism may be united in one person, or a teyu may become a nyic and vice versa. In the following, therefore, the teyu form of manifestation of shamanism will be described. In spirit the nyic are based on the same foundation. They never show their herbs and remedies and allow no one to take part in [124] their ceremonies. The teyu, on the other hand, on closer acquaintance were quite willing to give information about their knowledge and to let us take part in their séances.

/259 cont. /

b) The Period of Development of the Shaman

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The teyu with whom I was acquainted became shamans in two ways. Either they were taught by a teyu for a more or less long period of time, until they were given the "signs," or they were directly called to become a shaman by a vision. The latter, as a result of special selection through an experience caused by higher beings, is the more original type of shaman calling, whereas a regular apprenticeship with an experienced teyu is characteristic for the shamans who carry on the position of their fathers and sometimes also that of their grandfathers. These "hereditary shamans" are generally not as powerful magically as those initially chosen through a vision. The hereditary shamans are merely the continuers of an acquired shamanistic trade, whereas the initially chosen ones are the continuers of the tradition of a creator of human beings and animals, of a heroic war leader and liberator of their people. This mythically important figure of Paez tradition is Thunder, who is also regarded as the foremost and the most powerful magically of all shamans. His human successors were scarcely inferior to him as shamans in olden times, whereas the present-day ones are generally quite far behind in their magical abilities.

[776]

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The teoi Felisa Ipiá from Santa Rosa is about 70 years old (Ill. 199 /see p. 288 /). Her husband and six children are dead. Three children are living. She keeps no animals aside from a few chickens and turkey hens. About her calling she says that she received her call to become a shaman from Thunder. /260/ The latter lives in the lagoon of Taibe. He appeared to her in a black cloud and descended to earth to her in human form and gave her her shaman's staff and her medicinal herbs, saying that she had been chosen as teoi by him. She then practiced her art for a long time; but the people said that she was an evil shaman, a nyic, and brought her before the cabildo to be punished. Since the people greatly fear the nyic, she was given many blows there, and, indeed, with her own shaman's staff. Afterwards it was broken and burned

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756 on the village plaza, along with her medicinal herbs. Then they
[754] sent her back to her house, without her staff and without her
[683] medicinal herbs. When someone again became sick, however, the people again came to her and asked her to help the sick one. Then her husband, who, however, was not a shaman, made her a new staff; she herself again looked for her medicinal herbs and was able to help the sick. Since then she has been recognized once again as a good shaman and helps all who come to her. Another shaman in Santa Rosa said that he had received his call when he was but six years old. One day when he was working in the field, his mother, dressed in black and with a hat on her head, came to him and scolded him on account of his poor work. When she left, he followed her, but she disappeared into the river. When he returned home, he realized that the woman whom he saw could not have been his mother, since the latter had been in the community field at that time, where she was cooking for the workers. Undoubtedly this woman was a spirit, he confessed, who wanted to tell him that he should become a shaman. This was also confirmed for him by two fiber bags which she carried and which corresponded exactly to those used by the shamans for their medicinal herbs. A shaman from Calderas said that there came to him one night a very beautiful blond child with the women's hair style, who, however, was Thunder, and called upon him to become a shaman.

756 If one does not have visions by himself, he can, in order to
787 become shaman, seek them purposely. For this he need only eat
[262] very little and must refrain entirely from ajf (a very pungent condi-
[263] ment /see the glossary, p. 248/) and salt for one month. (The same thing also happens to a young man after he has involuntarily had a vision.) The one seeking a vision then goes all alone into the mountains, where he wanders over hill and dale for a long time, until he comes to a beautiful place where he meets an older man. The latter, like himself, is chewing coca. Through his appearance and his friendly manner he inspires confidence in the youth, and the latter tells /261/ him of his wish to become a shaman. He

/261 cont./

756 mentions that in his village there are so many sick people who
787 need his help and that he has gone into the mountains to look for medicinal herbs such as the shamans have. The one addressed replies that indeed there are in the mountains many good medicinal herbs for making people well. With that he hands him a fiber bag full of herbs and explains to him for which illness this and for which that will help. Explaining in such a manner, he acquaints the youth with all the herbs and tells him how they are used. Then he shows him how to make the shaman's staff and finally lets him feel the "signs," without a knowledge of which the medicinal herbs would be useless, since the latter can indeed be used only in connection with the corresponding "signs." (Cf. in this connection, under "Folklore," the similar myths about Llivan! /see pp. 217ff. /). Back home again, the youth begins first of all to learn under an experienced shaman, and then starts with curing a sickness in his own family. If he is successful, other people also come to demand his services.

One may also become a shaman without having had a vision. One becomes an apprentice of a good shaman and for several years learns there the practical manipulations. This includes the handling of the shaman's staff, the knowledge of medicinal herbs, and the interpretation of the "signs," in order to make the treatment of the sick successful. Here, too, the first treatment is done among members of the family under the supervision of the shaman [54] teacher. His reputation and the further demand for his services in the community depend on the outcome of this treatment.

Several of the Calderun "hereditary shamans" attained their position by this latter method. For example, the tepits Martin Chukue. He is about 50 years old. His wife died six years ago. He had four children by her, three of whom are also dead. He has one child by a second wife. He lives in a small house, but has no field, no cows, sheep, or pigs. His uncle was tepits. He lived with him for many years, until he was about 30 years old. Then for the first time he received the "signs" in his arms, made his staff, and became independent. In his opinion, one cannot

In his opinion, one cannot
/261 cont./

- 756 learn how to become a shaman; rather, this is a hereditary gift.
[827] He himself has no son and no pupils.

The tepits Francisco Cuskue is about 40 years old, married, and has four daughters and one son. Two children died. He has neither /262/ cows nor pigs, horses or sheep, and is very poor. He learned from childhood on, for his father and grandfather were also shamans. He wants his son to become a shaman, too. The latter, about ten years old, has not yet begun the apprenticeship, [123] however. In reply to my question as to whether I, too, as a stranger, might become a shaman, he asserted that this would be possible, but said that the training is very long and difficult. One has to learn from childhood on, until one is about 25 or 30 years old. I, in my case, am already too old to begin.

The tepits Cerbeleón Niunda (Ill. 153 /see p. 267/), who lives near the shaman Francisco, is the son of a shaman, was taught by his father, and had the "signs" when he was only ten years old. He is now, as an estimate, 55 years old (no Paez knows how old he is) and had ten children, six of whom died. In the way of possessions he has neither horse nor cow nor sheep. Whereas 756 all Paez divert the mountain brooks so that a small ditch flows 312 past their houses and they always use only flowing water, the shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón have a small joint reservoir below a spring, from which they drink and into which, before drinking, they place one of their medicinal herbs, šū. When questioned, both stated that they did not do this for any special reason and could not find out about anything in the reservoir, neither sickness nor the future.

754 Just as the good shaman was chosen by a vision, this also ap-
787 plies for the evil sorcerer. It is regarded as an omen that he is to become a nyic if, for example, in a dream he sees a bird that in its beak holds a donkey, into whose open mouth flies are crawling, or simply if he dreams about pigs. The prospective 754 nyic may have his vision during the day or at night; it is said that people who are abroad a great deal during the night are the most susceptible to evil sorcery, since at this time they have the

/262 cont./

754 most opportunities to meet evil spirits. Generally they do not need a teacher, but may look for their herbs by themselves. There are also many people, however, who would like to learn sorcery from other nyic, just as there are also supposed to nyic who instruct others in their art.

● 756 Avoidance prescriptions and taboos for the shaman include
784 some sexual and dietary abstinence, without, however, being
[834] very extensive or strict. Intercourse with his wife is forbidden
[263] for him when he feels his "signs." Moreover, he may not eat any
[717] ají if possible, in order not to make Thunder too angry. Also, he
756 may eat only very little salt, since Thunder likewise /263/ eats
784 no salt. For the séances, which always take place at night, he fasts
825 the whole day, since a full stomach makes it difficult to feel the
"signs." The other avoidance rules for the shaman are the same
as for all other human beings. For example, one may not kill a
snail, for if he should touch it, he would become lazy. In like
manner, the black woodpecker (ánza) may not be killed, since
otherwise, while working, one would split the machete in the
same way as the tail of the woodpecker is shaped. Young men
are forbidden to take a stolen hen away from a fox, for then
another man would take his bride or wife away from him. Only
[262] old men may confidently eat such a hen, if they have first run
around the house with a firebrand.

c) Shamanistic Aids

756 Among the shamanistic aids, the "signs" are the most im-
781 portant symptoms experienced, while the outward ceremonial
gear is as meager as the whole Paez culture. The only ceremonial
implement is the unadorned shaman's staff, the functional mean-
ing of which, however, is far less important than the shamanistic
"signs" (ítok). "They are like the pecking of a bird," the shaman
Cerbeleón Niunda said of them, and Francisco Cuskue describes
them as the irregular beating of his pulse. To be able to receive
[278] and to interpret them is the basis of being a shaman. Knowledge
of the medicinal herbs, the handling of the shaman's staff, in

/263 cont./

●756 fact, even the visionary sight of Thunder are worthless by them-
 787 selves, if the shaman does not receive any signs. By means of them
 278 the teyu discovers the cause of sickness and the means to be em-
 ployed for healing it, which always consist of the dispensing of
 herbs. For this reason every shaman always has his fiber bag with
 all his medicinal herbs with him, in order to have them at hand
 [53] and to be able to apply them at any time. Since, however, an
 illness does not have a physical cause, according to the opinion
 of the Paez, the herbs used for healing are not applied in accordance
 with the medical experiences of the shaman, but solely in ac-
 cordance with his signs.

756 The herbs used by the shamans are the following (*):

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 [127]

* I am taking these, as well as some other data on
 the shamanism of the Paez, from the excellent
 summary by S. Bernal Villa (III) /see the bibliog-
 raphy in the foreign text, p. 323/.

čandúr, eš (Erythroxylon coca), bičac (Hevea?), čulko (Oxalis, sp.),
čáyuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.), čuwét, fisa, ečyútse čime
 (Labiada?), /264/ gwepekas (Urera boccifera L.), kwése (Lonchocarpus?),
limonsflyo (Cymbopogon citratus), nyika, nyundayuskey, šu
 (Spagnum sp.), šuwés (Peperomia sp.), šulápe, šupenyí (Peperomia
sp.), tátse, táyuske (Peperomia sp.), ul níny (Hibiscus abelmoschus
 L.), umsim (Myrcia acuminata DC. Vell, aff.), vitubítskwe, wáhi
 (Nicotiana tabacum L.), yakúma, yúskay (Scleria cattarinensis
 Boeck).

753 Most of these herbs are first chewed by the shaman and then
 756 spat over the affected part. If a person is dying and his soul leaves
 278 his body from the heart by way of the upper arms, the pulse of the
 [774] lower arms, and the finger tips, the herb čáyuts, for example, is
 spat by the shaman from the finger tips in the direction of the arm-
 pits, in order to check the departure of the soul. Only rarely is a
 tea brewed from the leaves.

/264 cont. /

Besides the remedies which the shaman must use for curing, his signs also predict fate and the future for him or tell him whether the sicknesses will become better or worse. They also tell him about events which are imminent. Thus he learns through them, for example, that sick persons will be coming to him on the following day with this or that illness or this or that request. For all these matters every shaman has his signs at definite parts of his body, those on the left half of his body generally signifying something unfavorable, those on the right half, something good. Thus the rise of the signs from the outer side of the right foot to the ankle means that the medicinal herbs are taking effect. If the signs rise from the outer side of the left foot, this is proof that the nyic must win and the bewitched one must die. If the signs rise on the right foot to the shin, a member of the family will die and his soul go to heaven. If the signs go along the inner side of the left foot, "pest" will come, and the sick person will become mentally ill. If the signs are felt between the right shin and the heel and they go toward the left side, this is an omen of a battle between the teyu and the nyic. If the signs move from the left ankle up to the hollows of the knees, the planted field is bewitched. Signs in the left calf announce the visit of an evil shaman; signs in the right calf, the visit of a good old woman; signs on the outer side of the right or left calves announce the visit of a nyic or a good old man, respectively. Signs that run down from the right knee cap announce the death of a person through tus or gelyómp ("rainbow" or "mountain spirit" as spirit beings, see below /see pp. 191ff./). Signs on the /265/ left kneecap mean that the teyu will win in battle with the nyic; signs from the upper thighs to the hollows of the knees of the right foot, that the patient will die of a malignant "pest." If the signs go down from the left upper thigh, a bad person is walking by outside. If the signs go from the right hip to the foot, the wife will menstruate. If the signs are felt in the tenth rib on the right side, the sick person will soon die, since he has been stung by the mountain spirit. The signs on the left tenth rib announce the arrival of an evil person. If the signs go from the

/265 cont. /

756 right ring finger up the arm to the heart, the person concerned
 826 will bury a relative on the next day. Signs in the palm of the
 787 right hand mean that the sick person will get well; signs in the
 [763] palm of the left hand, that the mountain spirit is not accepting
 the gifts and the patient must die. By means of signs on the back
 of the left hand the mountain spirit makes it known that the
 offerings are insufficient. If the signs go from the palm of the right
 hand to the neck, this means "pest" from the Pijao. Signs in the
 right thumb and in the hand announce the appearance of a lost
 or strayed animal; signs in the corner of the left eye, that the
 lost animal has been stolen and has already been eaten by the
 thief; signs in the left arm announce the arrival of the ec spirit;
 signs in the right upper arm announce to the shaman that good
 people are asking him to be the sponsor at a christening. Signs
 on the head of the shaman announce that the nyic will send the
 pest, and if the signs go from the head into the left hand, the
 person is already bewitched. In these and similar ways of
 756 interpreting their signs, the shamans discover the nature of all
 787 illnesses and the means required to cure them. Thus their signs
 are their only treasure of experience, and if they do not feel
 them, or no longer feel them, they have lost the essential
 characteristic of being shamans.

787 Besides the shamanistic signs described, for the teyu as well
 828 as for ordinary human beings of every age and sex dreams are an
 essential means of experience for looking into the future, as well
 as for confirmation of a foreign -- usually evil -- influence on
 one's own person. Just as the effects of evil magic on the individ-
 ual are brought about through auto-suggestion, so, too, what is
 seen in a dream. The latter perhaps even more intensively be-
 cause of a person's own, direct dream experience; only in this way
 can one understand the positively fatalistic attitude of the persons
 concerned. Our interpreter Victoriano, for example, is one of the
 115 most industrious and capable Calderun. He is determined not to
 787 remain socially on the Indio level of his village. He therefore
 828 takes /266/ work from time to time among the white colonists,
 554 [770] in order to earn money for Colombian clothing. He is therefore
 [464]

If someone

/266 cont. /

[787] dreams of peté squash, he will be devoured by the Pijao, for this
 [266] squash has black seeds, and the Pijao as man-eaters have /267/
 black teeth. If one has been greatly amused in a dream at night
 and has laughed a great deal, he will have a great deal of vexa-
 tion during the day. If it rained heavily in a dream at night, a
 chicken or something similar will be stolen the next day. If in
 a dream someone has ridden very fast all night long on a brown
 horse, the day will be beautiful, for the brown or red color is the
 color of the sun (the same word is used for brown and red); dream-
 ing of riding a black horse, on the other hand, will cause a black
 cloud to come up the next day, and then it will rain. If, before
 sowing, someone dreams of a big lagoon that appears all green
 or has a great deal of green growth around it, this means that the
 subsequent sowing will produce a good harvest. Anyone who sees
 a black pig in his dream has in reality seen the heart of an evil
 shaman, that is to say, he, as a good human being, has met the
 wandering soul of an evil shaman; this is not a good sign, but
 neither is it so bad that one would have to fall ill on account of it.
 Dreaming about the slaughtering of a pig means that an evil
 sorcerer will die. If one dreams that a thorn entered his foot on
 [763] the road, a snake will bite him. If one's tooth drops out in a
 dream, a close relative will die. If someone else kills a large
 rooster, his father will die, for the rooster is the heart of the father.
 But if a person himself slaughters a large rooster in a dream, he
 will murder his own father. If one dreams that he has worked a
 great deal in his field on one day, then wild animals will break
 [754] into this field and destroy the entire crop. If a person dreams that
 [763] he is falling into a deep hole and cannot get out again, this is a
 sign that he will die, for an evil sorcerer has thus stolen the soul
 of a human being, buried it in a deep hole, and stamped down
 the earth again.

- 756 If dreams and shamanistic signs of a relatively advanced
 spiritual attitude lead to the conclusion that there is a correspond-
 ing external ceremonial outfit for the shaman, we shall be disap-
 [181] pointed. The shaman's staff (tama), to which a liana (nika) is
 added for certain ceremonies, is unadorned, poor, and inartistic,
 like the entire culture of the Paez.

/267 cont./

- 756 like the entire culture of the Paez. For the rest, there are neither special articles of clothing or equipment nor any other kind of ceremonial gear, such as crystals, masks, or rattles.

[824] The shaman's staff consists of a smooth staff, 50 to 60 centimeters long, made out of the hard wood of the chonta palm. It is /268/ pointed at one end and semicircular in cross-section.

Each shaman makes this staff for himself before treating his first [764] patient and never lets it out of his hand. When he dies, it is put into the grave with him. Before a séance begins, he sticks it into the ground, though not directly in front of him, but somewhat to the side. Only rarely does a shaman have it in his hand during the séance. As the single exception to the unadorned shaman's staff, I know of only the one belonging to old Felisa Ipia of Santa Rosa. On her staff she has tied a number of colored wool threads

[774] which she spun herself and dyed with homemade dyes. She has collected in these threads the souls of all the villagers of Santa

[755] Rosa. If someone in the village falls ill, she learns of it through

[787] her signs or through Thunder personally and in this way is better able to help the sick person, since she can immediately blow her medicinal herbs, mixed with brandy, on the wool threads and thus can help the sick person better.

756 S. Bernal Villa points out that the designation for the shaman's
773 staff corresponds to the name of the most important culture hero of the Paez, Juan Tama, who, according to tradition, was law-giver, famous and victorious commander of the army, first chief

[976] and shaman. According to other traditions, he was the son of the stars, the son of Thunder, or Thunder himself. The present-day shamans regard the staff as a gift from Thunder, and as a sign of spiritual alliance with him. A shaman of San Andrés, reporting on the origin of the shaman staff, says that, according to the stories of the elders, the tama was introduced by Thunder himself. According to this, a man once had his hut and his potato field in the mountains. He harvested the field with his son. One day the son refused to follow his father to the field, but rather preferred to stay behind in the hut. The next day the son had disappeared

/268 cont. /

- 756 without leaving a trace. In vain the father tried to find out where
773 he was staying. After eight days, however, the son again appeared
in the hut. He said that he had been with his grandfather, who
had given him brandy, medicines, and this staff that he held in
his hand and that was called tama. The "brandy" was cold water
from a lake, and the medicines in the fiber bag were mountain
herbs. After he had said this, he fell into a trance and lay there
as though dead. Fourteen days later, as he lay dying, he asked
his father to hand him his tama, for Thunder had told him that he
could defend himself with it and that, in case of illness, he should
take the medicines that he had given him. He squeezed /269/
out the juice and drank it. Quickly he became well. When he
gave it to other sick persons, they, too, became well immedi-
ately. With his staff and his medicines he became the best
doctor far and wide. He died at an advanced age.

775 Another shaman said that the tama stems from a lifesaving
773 act of the Holy Virgin Mary. Once when the sea rose constantly
177 higher and had covered almost the entire earth, human beings
were in great danger. The Virgin Mary took pity on them. She
drew forth the tama and with it made the same motions that the
shamans make with it today. The masses of water then receded.
She left her staff behind for the person who became a shaman.
This is supposed to be the origin of the tama.

756 Although in the latter story not only the figure of the Virgin
Mary, but possibly also the motif of the Deluge did not originate
in the thought of the Paez, nevertheless the origin of the tama as
776 a gift from a higher power is noteworthy. This power, which,
787 for the shamans, is of the greatest significance as a spirit being
and as the first shaman, is Thunder. According to reports, he
also positively has the character of an assistant spirit, even
though he is almost only feared by the present-day shamans.
"The old shamans," the present ones constantly assert, "were
still powerful enough magically to establish communication with
Thunder directly and at any time; we today are no longer able
778 to do it." In former times the members of the cabildo, under the
756 guidance of a shaman, bathed together in the lagoon of Juan Tama
623

/269 cont. /

778 and had their staff of office consecrated there. Today this no
756 longer takes place because of the lack of good shamans. The
623 shamans of today no longer have the intense visions that the
[787] earlier ones had, and that is why they are no longer so powerful
magically. They are no longer able to speak with Thunder as
simply as their predecessors did, and since they are weaker, it is
believed that Thunder will kill them.

776 Thunder is generally described as small of stature and dressed
like a Paez man with hat and black ruana. It is reported that he
does not wear trousers, but exposes his sexual parts. He has with
[534] him, like a shaman, his tama, a fiber bag with medicines, and a
[532] musical instrument called "tingalo" (triangle). It is not impossible
that it is his picture, together with a Christian cross, that is in-
cised in the gable post of a hut in the vicinity of the park of San
Andrés, which represents a man with large, triangular-shaped
sexual parts (Ill. 200 /see p. 288 /).

[756] /270/ Thunder is regarded by all the Paez as the greatest
[773] shaman and by the teyu as their master. In the folklore (see be-
low /see pp. 215 ff./), he probably often has different names,
such as Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, Juan Chiracol, but his
characteristics stand out in them, no matter whether as sāt (cacique)
he is fighting the Pijao and defending his people, or that he will
one day -- people are convinced -- again drive the hated whites
776 out of Tierradentro. He warns the Paez of an evil white person
824 who is coming to Tierradentro for a visit by a clap of thunder from
[783] a clear sky. When he thunders above a particular house, he is
[754] announcing that there is "pest" in it, and if he thunders first
above the house of a nyic and then above one belonging to a teyu
he is thereby announcing to a good shaman that he has just been
bewitched.

776 A few stories also tell about the struggles of the shamans
787 against Thunder, for he once robbed the Paez of livestock and
756 people. But that was long ago, for today no one would dare
undertake anything against Thunder. The Calderun shamans tell
how the earlier teyu were in a position to speak with Thunder at
any time and to get advice from him. Those of today are no

/270 cont. /

753 longer able to do this. Old Filisa of Santa Rosa, however, who
776 was herself chosen and initiated into her office by Thunder, is
787 still able to enter into communication with Thunder today. To be
sure, she cannot always do this, but she has often sought him out
in his lagoon, dived into the water, gone to the house of Thunder
on the bottom of the lagoon, and asked him for advice. One of
the sons of Thunder, likewise a shaman, was even her constant
companion who protected her everywhere. "In former times,"
she said, "Thunder himself cured people. Today it is different."
Thunder knows when someone is sick; then when people come to
her to ask for a remedy, Thunder personally announces to the
shaman beforehand: such and such persons with such and such an
illness will come today. He also tells her at the same time what
remedies she should use. Then when the people come to tell about
the illness, she can, since she is a good friend of Thunder, always
help them with the best remedies.

776 Thunder, she said, has many children. They come into the
world by way of a spring or a crevice out of which water trickles.
They have the size of small human beings, but are very good and
dressed in a beautiful taw (belt). For growing up and for their
nourishment they need three women as attendants. They suck milk
from them, whereupon the women must die. The Thunder-children
/271/ themselves are barren and have no children. As children
of Thunder, however, they have always been great caciques and
shamans.

One day she showed me a small knot of a branch, wrapped
in a piece of cloth. "This is a child of Thunder that I have
from him," she said, "it looks like a branch, but in reality it is
alive and can speak."

d) Sickness, Ideas About the Spirits and Souls

753 All sicknesses are explained by the Paez as having originated
754 by means of magical influences that have their cause primarily
783 in malevolent, deliberate acts. These magical, supernatural
influences are either bewitchments by the nyic, magical injury

* /271 cont./

753 caused by the spirits ec, tūs, or gělyómp, or general emanations
 783 of impurity, of "pest" (uwē). Such reasons for catching pest, and
 [754] thereby being afflicted with sickness, result largely from neglecting
 [764] the prescribed shamanistic purifications. These must take place
 after a burial or when someone has merely seen a funeral proces-
 753 sion or entered a house in which there is a corpse. The prohibitions
 783 surrounding a woman giving birth or menstruating are just as strict.
 841 If she does not retire to the menstruation hut at the proper time,
 [844] if she cohabits during these days or neglects to take the subsequent
 bath after menstruation and birth, the consequences are equally
 [264] grave. Pest befalls a man if he accepts food from a menstruating
 753 woman. The same consequences befall the one who in housebuild-
 783 ing or during the first harvest does not have the proper ceremonies
 756 performed by the shaman.

342 Most people die as the result of the evil influence of the
 754 nyic, the evil sorcerers. The latter -- it is firmly believed --
 783 are able to kill individual persons as well as to send pest to entire
 761 villages. Their power of evil is regarded as almost unlimited.

Besides being bewitched by a nyic, there are three other possibili-
 753 ties for a person to become ill or to die. These causes are
 761 gělyómp, tūs, and ec. All three are very complex conceptions
 776 and may be translated roughly as "mountain spirit," "rainbow,"
 and "firefly," respectively, although the Paez conception and the
 [756] translation are not completely identical. The teyu knows the
 cause of the illness immediately from his signs, the rest of the
 people, however, usually only after the death of the sick person.
 And, to be sure, one recognizes the tūs as the cause of illness by the
 fact /272/ that the corpse lies there with a bent limb (arm or leg),
 whereas in the case of ec as the cause of death, blood flows from
 the mouth or nose. It is also possible that both together, tūs and
ec, might bring death to the person, for example, if the person
 lies there bent and blood flows from the mouth or nose.

776 The gělyómp spirit lives chiefly in the mountains, but also in
 the valley, on the banks of brooks or rivers. He likes to lead
 wanderers astray in the mountains by making noise and screaming
 up there; at night one hears his screams -- like those of a human

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776 If it rains when the sun is shining, they may not leave the house,
753 for otherwise they become afflicted with head maladies. These
121 are not headaches, but wounds such as would be inflicted by a
• [758] machete. The teyu, however, have remedies to make the rain-
[789] bow disappear, so that children may go outside again.

Eċ, the third of the aforementioned causes of sickness and
776 death, is the most unpleasant and the most dangerous, since eċ
[753] kills the most people. Eċ lives in the earth; no man has seen
[761] him, apart from a few shamans. They need not enter into the
[787] earth, however, to see him; rather, eċ himself comes if a teyu
[825] calls him. He looks like a human being. Eċ is also the name
for fireflies, which are regarded as the messengers that he sends
out to bring "pest" to human beings. People therefore kill fire-
776 flies if they are able to catch them. Eċ is not angry, however,
782 if the people kill his messengers, if only he always gets enough
offerings. For this reason people give eċ a dram-glass full of
brandy from every bottle, that is, they pour this amount on the
ground; likewise eċ gets his share of every animal killed (chicken,
756 pig, cow, etc.). People ask their teyu which parts of the animal
776 eċ demands and which ones they should offer him. If people
782 killed and ate an animal without offering eċ any of it, he would
[761] in return kill a child of this family. If the father then comes to
the teyu and asks why his child died, he -- who, of course, knows
that the man slaughtered a pig without giving eċ anything -- tells
him that this is the punishment of eċ. That very rarely happens,
however; rather, the man gives the shaman the parts of the ani-
mal desired by eċ, for instance, the liver, entrails, or meat, and
he gives them to eċ, bringing them at night to the place desired
[787] by him. Moreover, as a precaution people give eċ herbs and
brandy as the shaman advises, in accordance with the signs which
he has received from eċ.

774 If the penetration of pest into the body of a person is the
776 cause of an illness that may result in death, this unfortunate out-
753 come is all the more probable if one of the three spirits or a nyic
has stolen a human soul. I was given differing /274/ statements
about such a case: First of all, there are two words for soul, uns

/274 cont. /

774 (u = nasal) and tafi, with which everyone is familiar, although
 776 they are not sure about the distinction between the two. The
 753 shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón said that the two were the same;
 but both of them also said that üns or tafi, if they had left the
 person in his dream and were abroad, could be caught by tüs, ec,
 or nyic without the person's becoming aware of this immediately,
 but rather he still went on living. To my objection that in this
 case üns and tafi were probably different, they did not know how
 [775] to answer; Cerbeleón stated that if a person dies, his üns goes to
 heaven and the person himself becomes tafi. He and other teyu
 756 were able to catch the üns of a human being. Thus, for example,
 774 if someone had been robbed, he would come to Cerbeleón. The
 754 latter takes coca, tobacco, and brandy, and then he can bring
 forth the üns of the thief, seize it, and kill it. The thief must
 [783] then die. In order to get the üns in his power, he must first cleanse
 [824] his hands with the herbs ñu and vitubitskwe, as well as with brandy.
 [276] The üns has the form of a small animal, he explained; it can fly
 and glows and is about three centimeters long. It is very similar
 to a firefly in appearance, but different from ec.

554 Having reached this point in his explanation, Cerbeleón grew
 754 silent, and our interpreter Victoriano said that we should now have
 756 to depart, but quickly. With that he left the house in positive
 [124] flight, and we were obliged to follow. Outside he explained to us
 that Cerbeleón was a "mal brujo," a nyic, which, to be sure, he
 had always suspected before, but just now Cerbeleón had given
 himself away inasmuch as he had said that he could catch and
 [682] kill the üns of human beings. The people of Calderas also say
 that he possessed herbs that he could put in eggs, chicha, or other
 food, whereupon people would eat them and then die. One of the
 sons of Cerbeleón was a thief and had died in the following manner:
 The one who was robbed had prayed to the Virgen Santísima /Holy
 Virgin/, and God had punished the thief with death. The father
 himself, that is, the shaman Cerbeleón, is also a thief and kills
 people out of envy for their possessions.

The mission sisters confirmed this statement insofar as
 Cerbeleón had several times attempted to kill them by sprinkling

/274 cont./

554 herbs into their drinking-water canal. Now he had given it up,
754 however. To us he seemed to be merely an idle talker; he did
● 756 not give the impression of actually having received signs or of
being serious about the matter, but rather it seemed as though
he had merely learned a little by watching his father /275/ and
was doing it mechanically without any inner concern. Francisco,
too, had a father and grandfather as shaman predecessors. He was
likewise rather ignorant, but apparently meant well. He did his
best to help people.

756 Martin Chukue was completely absorbed by his calling and
753 duty, and he was well informed, serious, and dignified in his
761 shamanistic work. When the capitan of Calderas died, he was
the shaman authorized to act for his residence, and he also con-
ducted the purification ceremony after his burial. Martin ex-
plained the cause of death of the capitan as follows: The capitan
had to die because the tūs had stolen the tafi soul of the capitan.
The capitan died with his left leg drawn up. He was very thin when
he died, because he had not eaten anything for a long time, for
[755] his tafi soul had been stolen five years ago. At that time the sick
man began feeling pain, and during the entire time he, Martin,
had fought with the tūs, offered him medicines, and tried to ap-
pease him.

775 When the üns soul (üns also means "heart"!) leaves the body,
[774] then the person is ultimately dead. And, to be sure, üns leaves
[827] the body by way of the upper arms, lower arms, finger tips.

Shortly before it leaves the person, one may still perceive it very
faintly as a pulse beat, and when the pulse beat ceases altogether,
the üns has left the body and immediately goes to heaven. No
one could tell me exactly in what form it goes to heaven. In
heaven, however, it again has the normal human appearance.

[755] When children are ill, wool threads are put around their wrists
[774] and ankles and drawn tightly in order to prevent the escape of the
üns, or at least to make it more difficult.

/276 cont. /

769 foods: meat, maize, chicha, brandy, coca, yuca, etc. These
gifts are laid on a banana leaf on the floor of the church and a
775 candle is lighted along with it.) The áhimos, too, can only be seen
by shamans.

774 She does not know when and from where a child gets its üns
and taff. She believes that as soon as the heart of the child beats
in the mother's womb, the child has üns; it gets taff only after
birth. Animals have no taff; they have üns only if they devour
human beings.

e) Shamanistic Séances

● 756 Each of the shamanistic séances, be it a treatment of the sick
783 or a ceremony during housebuilding or at a burial, is basically a
purification from "pest" and therefore a ceremony of magic prac-
tices. All these ceremonies and séances are thus in essence the
same. They differ only in details, for example, in the different
medicinal herbs or in the order of the various purifications. Let
us first give a description of a purification ceremony /277/ by the
shaman Martín Chucue after a burial (see Ill. 208 to 213 /see pp. 292-
294/).

756 The shaman does not take part in the burial. Moreover, he
764 neither enters the house of a deceased in which the corpse is still
783 present, nor does he accompany a funeral procession to the burial
place. The mourners, men, women, and children, go to the
burial place together and then return to the house of mourning.
Before they may enter it, however, they must go to the river
where the shaman awaits them in order to purify them for the
first time. Then they go together to the house of mourning, which,
however, the purified people may not yet enter, since it is still
unclean. The shaman, with his helpers, must first purify the
house with the same remedies with which he purified the people,
namely, with water to which herbs and cow excrement have been
added. After that the people, too, may enter the house and eat
and drink.

/277 cont./

● 756 The shaman learns the date of the second ceremony and
765 principal purification through his signs from ec̃. He announces
783 this date to those who participated at the burial. Those to be
[787] purified -- primarily the nearest relatives -- gather at the river
and at a place set apart for this, marked by a number of flat
[823] stones. These are absolutely necessary; without stones, no puri-
[237] fication site. First the people sit in front of the stones, and the
helpers of the shaman fetch calabashes filled with water that is
mixed with the ñu herb and to which some cow excrement, stand-
ing ready in a pot at the same place, is added. The shaman has
wound a liana around his staff. Even before the ceremony, he
chewed coca and tobacco uninterruptedly and drank brandy
copiously. First he goes to the left with the staff and liana and
beats the air with both, as though he were struggling with invisible
spirits. Then, always struggling, he goes in the other directions
of the site, and, finally, once more to the left. There his
helpers have dug a hole about 30 centimeters deep and 15 centi-
meters in diameter.

[296] Now the linen of the deceased and the linen of the mourners
which they used on the day of burial are brought forth. They are
placed on the stones and then washed and rinsed long and vigorously
by the widow and the daughter of the deceased.

The rest of the mourners, like the shaman, have been chew-
ing coca the whole time and get brandy to drink from the teyu.

After the washing, the shaman next struggles as before, as
though he wanted to drive invisible spirits away from the site of
the purification ceremony. With wide sweeping blows he moves
his tama /278/ and liana slowly through the air. In particular he
[823] turns to the left again, for to the left lives the evil ec̃, and to be
[774] sure, in the ground (*).

- * The direction left has nothing to do with any geographical direction or with the direction of the river. They sit with their backs to the river.

/278 cont./

756 Then everybody goes, the shaman last, to the hole on the left
765 side and spits coca into it; then everybody takes brandy and squirts
783 it into the air toward the left. After that those who are to be
purified start to undress, and each one takes a seat on one of the
stones. The helpers of the shaman bring vast quantities of water - -
always mixed with herbs and cow excrement -- in their calabashes,
and then the very vigorous washing of the body begins. The water
is first poured over the head, then over the body, front and back,
so generously that everyone must have at least 25 liters of water
run over him. The people themselves rub their bodies very
thoroughly. In conclusion the shaman places a few herbs on the
head of each one. After that, too, the shaman must again fight
his battle with staff and liana in the air and squirt brandy toward
the left. Then each one stands up individually and the shaman
passes his shaman staff and herbs laterally around him from left
to right and from bottom to top. Again and again the shaman and
the people drink brandy, which they spit out in the air to the left.

After the ablutions of the mourners, followed by the ablutions
of the assistants and the shaman, all sit down again in their old
places, opposite the stones. The shaman sits down beside them, the
staff stuck in the ground before him, his mouth completely full of
coca and tobacco. In addition, at short intervals, he takes a
[787] swallow of brandy. He sits this way for about 20 minutes, chewing
[763] and drinking, and then he says that the signs in his hand are very
bad and that soon someone will die. One of the young men
present, the nephew of the deceased and helper of the shaman dur-
ing the purification, asks who is going to die or whether it might
even be he himself. The shaman, who has been talking monotonously
to himself and keeps staring at one spot, answers, without turning
his head, that he does not know who will die. The shaman remains
sitting a while longer, constantly chewing coca and drinking brandy,
and then he gets up and the people sit down in a row behind the stones,
first the men, then the women. The shaman takes herbs in his hands,
spits the freshly chewed coca with tobacco on them, and passes this
around the bodies of all present, always from the lower left, up the
side to the head, and down again on the right side, then up the back

756 /279/ and the front, and at the end he "sucks out," holding one
 765 fist over the other, everything dirty, the last remnants of the pest,
 783 from the body at three places. First, on the right side of the neck
 in the hollow of the collarbone, then in the middle of the head,
 and then he passes both hands along the arms from the shoulders
 down to the finger tips and sucks on the palms of both hands. Then
 he cleanses himself in the same manner, by passing his hands,
 filled with herbs, along his entire body from below upward, where-
 upon he goes to the left, to the hole, sticks his staff into it, and
 apparently disgorges something from his stomach, aiding this pro-
 cedure by pressing his hands into the pit of his stomach. Then he
 vigorously spits into the hole what he has disgorged. After that he
 once again takes herbs and brandy, as well as coca, into his mouth
 and likewise spits them into the hole. Now he takes fresh coca,
 herbs, and brandy, chews this, and spits it on the tip of his staff
 and passes this over the bodies of all the people, moving first
 slowly, then faster from below upward, as though he were obliged
 to press out, from below upward, something inside the body. As
 he does so, he mutters words that are incomprehensible, and finally,
 after purifying each person, he hurls the pest, which is hanging on
 the point of his staff, away from him in a wide arc. He also
 cleanses the mountain of linen with his staff in the same way.
 afterwards he again takes coca and lime into his mouth, as well-
 as herbs, among them always ñu in particular, and puts the same
 thing into the mouths of the people. After that he rubs off his
 hands with ñu, spits brandy on them, and performs the same purifi-
 cation ceremony on the people as before, again passing over their
 bodies from below upward and finally sucking out the pest from
 their necks, heads, and hands.

The participants, at the moment of purification, are very
 serious concerning the matter. In between, however, they laugh
 and talk, and the men go about their occupation of straw-hat
 braiding.

After these three purifications in a standing position, a further
 purification in a sitting position follows, during which the shaman
 thrusts his staff into the ground in front of each person. After
 each purification he goes to the hole and spits everything into it

/279 cont. /

756 vigorously, then always rinses his mouth with brandy and spits it
765 out in a spray. After this final purification, standing in front of
793 the hole, he moves his staff several times in a circle through the
air from below upward and stabs into the hole three times with the
tip of his staff, as though he wanted to thrust something corporeal
from above into the hole with the staff. Several times /280/ he
paces off the entire place, beating with his staff, always starting
from the right and squirting brandy to the left about ten times.

To conclude the ceremony, the hole is covered with a stone,
and water containing su herbs is poured over it. All the participants
spit the herbs given to them by the shaman into a second hole about
50 centimeters away, rinse their mouths vigorously with brandy,
and spit this also into the nearby hole. To conclude the ceremony
lasting more than four hours, they are all given a swallow of brandy
by the shaman and together spit this toward the left.

755 If the teyu is called to a sick person, before the actual treat-
756 ment he must determine the cause of the illness in a special séance.
Like all sickness ceremonies, it begins about eight o'clock in the
evening and usually ends several hours after midnight. For his
séances he uses a specific place (kaci) where, in the presence of
the patient, he receives his signs. In cases of serious illness, the
treatment may also take place in the house, but then, if possible,
ají and salt, things which Thunder does not like, should not be in
the vicinity. In cases of particularly serious illness, the shaman
may also go to a quiet place, free of human sounds and the barking
of dogs, in order to receive his signs there alone.

Before the start of the séance, the patient must give the teyu
half a fiber bag full of coca, a bottle of brandy, and a few cigars,
since without these things it is impossible for the shaman to re-
ceive his signs. He thrusts his staff into the ground, a little to one
side, and then he sits down opposite the patient. He now takes
his medicinal herbs out of his fiber bag and first makes up two
equal little packets of various mixed herbs, each of which he
wraps in a maize leaf. With every herb that he takes from his fiber
bag, he first makes a pass around his own body in order to stimulate
his blood and to receive his signs better. It may already happen here

/280 cont./

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756 that his signs tell him that his efforts will be in vain, because the patient must die. Only if the signs are favorable, do he and the patient start chewing the little packet of medicinal herbs. The shaman now takes his staff and spits some of the chewed medicinal herbs on it, to prevent the pest sent by nyic from possibly being transferred to him and killing him. Then he thrusts the tama into the ground with the point, in order to announce to Thunder that he does not wish to act badly and carelessly, but exactly in accordance with his shamanistic rules. He sets the bottle of /281/ brandy, into which he puts a stalk of the čayuts herb, beside his shaman's staff. If the stalk remains vertical, it is a good sign; if it falls to one side and goes under, it is a very bad omen. On the mouth of the bottle he also places a small calabash vessel, likewise containing the čayuts herb, which is supposed to prevent the pest from taking the shaman by surprise and killing him. He now puts a handful of coca into his mouth and starts to chew. Motionless, he gazes at his staff, ready to receive his signs. From time to time he takes more coca and lime, tells the patient that his signs are favorable, that his illness, which comes from the pest, will soon get better. Then he gets up, goes to his tama, and vigorously spits out the chew. He empties a whole calabash of brandy and squirts it into the air. Again he returns to his seat, once again takes coca and lime and a little cigar tobacco into his mouth, and again remains squatting motionless. After about an hour he spits the chew in the direction of the staff, the patient does the same, and then both get up. The shaman now tells the patient that Thunder has shown him the possibility of a cure. He will now go and gather his special medicinal herbs, and for a good purification the patient will have to bring a pound of coca leaves, six cigars, a liter of brandy and chicha, and, in addition, a few pounds of meat. The teyu urgently enjoins him not to take any of the medicine of the whites under any circumstances, for otherwise he must surely die. At this séance, as well as at others, the shamans all agreed that neither did they themselves leave the place of the séance nor did their souls leave their bodies to go wandering. The signs, to which alone they give heed, are the only characteristic of their experience.

/281 cont. /

755 On the evening agreed upon for the purification from the pest,
 ● 756 the patient brings the shaman the required remedies, and the
 783 latter divides everything into two parts, one to carry out the séance
 [782] and the other as an offering for Thunder. He first takes the latter
 portion and goes to a particular place in order to offer it to
 Thunder. He spits part of the brandy into the air and drinks another
 part himself, as soon as Thunder has expressed his approval of the
 purification from the disease and his satisfaction over the gift.

[516] For the purification ceremony the teyu and the patient squat
 down on the ground next to each other, in the manner customary
 among the Paez. The teyu thrusts his staff into the ground and
 sets the brandy bottle beside it. Amid coca-chewing and brandy-
 drinking the hours flow by, broken only by an occasional spitting
 out of the chew on the part of the shaman. /282/ Through his
 signs he gradually learns the cause of the illness and also the
 necessary remedies, which he now hands over to the patient. He
 also places on his head a packet containing the same herbs, as
 protection against the evil ex spirit. The teyu now goes to one side
 and beats the air with his tama, in order to remove the pest that
 is present. Then he passes it up the entire body of the patient, be-
 ginning at the feet and ending at the head, in order to squeeze out,
 so to speak, the pest from the body of his patient from below up-
 ward. At various parts of the body, the hollow of the collarbone,
 the neck, and the head, he "sucks" out the pest. Into a hole dug
 a few meters in front of the place of the ceremony he now spits the
 contents of his mouth: coca and medicinal herbs, mixed with the
 pest sucked out of the patient. He then squirts a mouthful of brandy
 into the air, so that the pest will depart altogether, and drinks a
 further one himself, so that the pest will not enter his body. Now
 the patient is called. He must first spit into the same hole the
 mixture of coca and medicinal herbs which he has chewed the en-
 tire time, and then he, too, must take two swallows of brandy;
 he must squirt one into the air, and he swallows the other one.
 Further purifications of the patient follow, various herbs being
 passed over him and the pest being sucked out several times and
 spat into the hole. In conclusion there follows a bodily cleansing

/282 cont./

755 of the patient with water to which su and yakuma have been added
● 756 as medicinal herbs, so that he will now be completely freed of the
783 pest. Finally the teyu asks Thunder to prevent anyone from un-
covering this hole in which the dangerous pest is buried. He further
asks Thunder to help him in subsequent treatments of the sick later
on. The patient is told that the signs are favorable, and he is again
enjoined neither to use the medicines of the whites nor ever to
pass this hole containing the pest.

757 Besides these two most important shamanistic ceremonies, the
756 treatment of the sick and the purification of the relatives after a
731 burial, the shaman's ability and his magical, supernatural powers are
also called upon for preventive ceremonies and acts. This is par-
ticularly necessary if epidemics of disease -- smallpox, whooping
cough -- occur in the village or in a family. In the first instance,
the cabildo asks a shaman who is known to be able to speak with
Thunder to conduct the proper protective ceremonies; in the latter
instance, /283/ the oldest member of the afflicted family asks
him. First a pig must be killed for this. A piece is cut from all the
body organs on the left side, and everything is put into a new fiber
[282] bag. The shaman and the cabildo then set out in the afternoon for
the lagoon in which Thunder is believed to live, in order to hand
over to him the bag with the pieces of meat, with the request to avert
the epidemic. During this time the women remaining behind have
been preparing the rest of the meat for a meal, which, however, is
eaten jointly only when, after twelve hours, the shaman and
cabildo return from their ceremony.

756 For several cases of illness and death in one family the help of
788 a good shaman is likewise required. The pest is generally regarded
769 as the cause of these cases of death afflicting only one family, though
according to a report by S. Bernal Villa, the deceased and angry
members of the family are held responsible for this. In this case
the eldest of the family provides brandy, coca, and tobacco, calls
together the family members, and asks the shaman to come. The
latter offers the angry ancestor spirits a fat pig that has first been tied
in front of the house for a whole night, while the shaman during this
time speaks to the spirits about whether they will accept the offering.

/283 cont. /

- 756 It is killed by members of another family, since the ones concerned
783 may not perform any work or activity. The pig is scalded over a
769 hole into which the hair and refuse are thrown. The parts of the
pig which the ancestor spirits, through the signs of the shaman,
wish as a sacrifice are put into a fiber bag with a wooden stick.
During this time the women bake small, flat maize cakes, and,
to be sure, as many as there are dead in the family. These are
756 likewise put into the bag, and, in addition, a large quantity of
783 other food. Moreover, small wooden dolls, dressed like living
532 Paez, are carved in the same number as the dead. About 40
769 meters from the house a grave with a lateral niche is dug, exactly
like the one made for deceased persons. In the evening the
shaman goes there with the members of the family and performs the
ceremonial purification on them. After that the sky becomes
covered with thick, black clouds, in the direction of which the
teyu spits his medicinal herbs. After two hours the clouds move
off toward the left and bring into view the starry sky. Now the
shaman lays the dolls (as representations of the spirits of the
dead) into the lateral niche of the grave, sets a wax candle be-
side them, and blows his medicinal herbs over them. With a
/284/ stone he closes off the lateral niche and then places the
756 bag with the food into the pit. After the latter has again been
783 filled with earth, he proceeds to a renewed purification of the
769 members of the family, which is undertaken a third time in the
house and at the same time on the helpers in the pig-slaughtering
and the baking. In conclusion one half of the pig is now eaten
jointly, whereas the other half belongs to the shaman as
remuneration.

- 756 A further important shamanistic ceremony is undertaken when
342 a new house is built. On this occasion the teyu, in dedication,
783 spits his herbs on the future fire area of the house and digs a small
[824] hole into which he places the herbs šū and šulápe. On a small
pile of wood he burns other herbs, the ashes of which he carries
out of the house. Now he lights a new fire, in which he roasts
a young maize ear and gives it to a dog to eat. If the latter
does not die; this is regarded as a sign that no pest exists here
any longer and the occupants may confidently live here. If this
were not the case, they would be obliged to leave the house.

/284 cont. /

241 The following ceremony before the first harvest of a newly
756 cleared field should also be understood in the same sense as
783 all the shamanistic séances of the Paez, namely, as a purification
[273] from pest or to ward it off. The owner, taking along coca, chicha,
[276] and brandy, goes to the field with the members of his family and
the teyu. The latter first sprinkles the field with water to which
[824] herbs have been added and then distributes small packets of
[782] medicinal herbs to all present. He now takes a sample from each
type of produce and makes a bundle out of this, in order to offer
it to Thunder. After this gift, the owner harvests a fiber bag full
of each type of produce and carries it home. He sets down all
the bags beside one another in front of the left side of the entrance,
and then the shaman spits his herbs over them, in order to cleanse
them of the pest, which, without this ceremony, would otherwise
[782] have been carried into the house. After the products have been
cooked, they are given to the shaman, who distributes one product
to each of those present and offers the rest as a gift to Thunder, who,
in turn, gives everything back to the shaman.

754 A good shaman does not know any herbs or other means to
758 harm people or to kill them. Such acts are the mark of the nyic.
According to what we heard, however, the boundary between good
and bad shamans is not very sharply drawn; each could also carry
out the activity of the other, even though Thunder -- people are
convinced -- does not lend his help to a nyic, so that the latter is
578 dependent solely on his bad and wicked agents. /285/ There is a
754 constant struggle between the teyu and the nyic, not openly to be
756 sure, but in secret. The teyu constantly feel pursued by the evil
machinations of the nyic, and one who relaxes his attention for
only a moment will be killed by them. In this struggle the one
who is the stronger magically has prospects of victory; but since
the nyic do not openly announce their successes over the good
shamans, one can learn only of the victories of the teyu over the
evil shamans. Thus a shaman from Santa Rosa relates that in his
youth he was very treacherous and underhanded and was already
familiar with many agents. One day a nyic, who had already

/285 cont. /

578 killed his mother and his brothers, declared his hostility toward
754 him because he was well on the way to becoming a good shaman.
● 756 He became ill and his signs announced to him that he would soon
578 die. Now there was a famous shaman in Huila, and he sought
75 him out with much brandy and coca. Immediately this shaman
774 realized that it was a case of bewitchment by a nyic. The only
possibility of getting off alive was to kill the soul of the evil
sorcerer immediately. Together they dug a hole for this purpose
and in it they waited many nights for the soul of the nyic. It
came, but since it was very suspicious, it would not let itself be
caught. More than a month passed in this way. Night after
night the two were lying in wait, without sleeping, and then one
night, near daybreak, the soul of the evil sorcerer came. The
shaman was ready, however; he raised his staff and with a power-
ful blow it fell into the hole. Immediately earth was piled up
over it and the hole completely covered. Hissing, the soul died.

756 Since the young shaman from Santa Rosa was well once more,
789 the old shaman sent him home. He advised him, however, to
824 carry herbs with him, since there were robbers on the way.
Cautiously he proceeded to the dangerous spot, and already his
signs announced to him that the robbers were in the vicinity. He
immediately blew his herbs, and the robbers fell into a deep
sleep. Farther along on the way home he met several people
who were pursuing a criminal. They gave him brandy and coca and
asked him to help them, from his home, to capture the criminal.
He then strewed çayuts on his own feet, and the criminal could no
longer walk, so the people were able to capture him..

75 Other shamans report that in case of a bewitchment by a
774 nyic, the bewitched person and the members of his family slaughter
a pig and put a piece of each organ in a fiber bag. /286/ They
bring these to the shaman, together with brandy, coca and cigars.
The meat serves as bait for the soul of the sorcerer, for at the first
cockcrow, when all present are chewing coca, it comes to get the
bag. It falls into the hole dug under it, however. The shaman
immediately throws herbs into it, those present their chewed
packets of coca, and then the pit is covered up as quickly as

/286 cont./

75 possible. After his soul has thus been killed, the sorcerer, too,
774 must die.

754 The same type of soul-capture as is reported here by the teyu
774 is also the most common method of evil sorcery practiced by the
824 nyic. The nyic digs a hole and stations himself above it, in order
to await the wandering soul of his victim. It is visible, like a
lighted candle. When it is over the hole, the nyic gives it a
powerful blow with his staff, so that it falls into the hole. If it
is supposed to die very quickly, the nyic throws strongly efficacious
herbs over it and covers the hole with graveyard soil. If not, he
has many possibilities of inflicting on the soul, and therefore on
his victim, injury that takes effect more slowly. If he sprinkles
the herb baw (Araceae) over it, the stomach of its owner becomes so
distended that he dies. If the nyic sprinkles lime over the soul, the
person becomes blind. In the case of the poisonous herb boracero
(Datura sp.), the owner of the soul becomes insane; the stinging
smoke of the agave also produces insanity. Putting the leaves of
the čuwét (Krameria ixina?) and the soul together brings death.
The herbs kaspi (Toxicodendron striatum Kuntze), lečero
(Euphorbia cotinifolia L.), and Pringamoza also cause death.

f) The Sociological Aspect of Shamanism

182 Although the shamanistic ceremonies and the conceptions
● 756 underlying them are of a religious nature, nevertheless the
activity of the shaman is a definite sociological fact. Without
the activity of the teyu, neither the family nor the village com-
munity can exist. It is only the shaman who, through his personal
abilities, is able to counteract the evil effects of the nyic, the
tūs, eč, and gělyōmp spirits and turn them into something good.
His activity, however, consists not only in the repulsion of what
has already appeared, in the healing of what has happened, but
his activity is also preventive, in fact, prophetic, for he predicts
future sicknesses or deaths. Moreover, no house construction,

/286 cont./

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●756 no new harvest may be undertaken until the teyu has first cleansed of the pest the building site or the crops, respectively.

[773] /287/ He is, however, not only the protector of the individual or the individual family, but is also responsible for the beneficial co-existence of the members of the whole village. Thus, it is not surprising that it was the shamans -- besides Thunder under his various names -- who were the war leaders in the mythical traditions. Thanks to their magical gifts and strength, they successfully led their people against the Pijao and the Spaniards. Several times the elders of the various villages told us that one day Thunder will again drive the white intruders out of the Tierradentro of the Paez and kill them. And it is only logical that, as late as 1952, [648] [789] on the occasion of an impending attack by an armed group of white revolutionaries, the shaman of Santa Rosa, as the successor of the mythical Thunder, should spit his magic herbs on the road leading to the village, in order to destroy them. Old Felisa Ipia is behaving in a similar manner when she keeps the souls of all the village inhabitants gathered together in the threads of her shaman's staff, in order to be able to protect them better against evil, magical influences.

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554 On account of these certain supernatural abilities of theirs, the effects of which no one in the community can evade, the teyu [285] have a certain unofficial authority. In addition, they are all at least 30 to 40 years old and thus, by their very age, fulfill one of the natural prerequisites for recognition by the community. Not a few of them feel honored by this, set apart from the great mass of people, but many assured me that they were shamans only unwillingly, that though they were called by their ability to receive signs, they were nevertheless oppressed by the weight of the burden of their responsibility.

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124 During times of epidemics of disease or inexplicable, "super- [182] natural" deaths, they are the focal point of the community, to which no one appeals in vain. And in conversations with them we generally had the distinct impression of facing unselfish, helpful human beings. They make no secret of their activity, and they tried, as best they could, to tell us about their experiences and knowledge which they use for the good of the community.

/317 cont. /

105 In the Paez religion there is no cult priesthood with offerings
 771 and prayer, just as there is also no cult or worship of numinous
 ●756 beings. The Paez religion is a shamanism, the two forms of which
 are the evil sorcerer and the good shaman as doctor and helper
 against evil sorcery. As a religious phenomenon Paez shamanism is
 not as distinctive as the Siberian or the North American shamanism.
 Assistant spirits and the soul journey as shamanistic means are only
 rudimentary with the shamanistic "signs," the "thunder child," and
 the journeys of the shaman to the house of Thunder on the bottom
 of the lagoon; there is almost no ceremonial apparatus. Never-
 theless, the activity of the good shaman in particular, as doctor and
 helper in sickness caused by magical practices, as well as his
 function as sociological crystallization point of the community,
 is entirely a shamanistic phenomenon.

105 Linguistically Paez belongs among the agglutinative languages,
 [197] in which the form element is made up by affixes that characterize
 [194] whole classes of words. In phonetics the series of palatals including
 all the consonants is striking, as well as the frequent occurrence of
 nasal vowels.

105 /318/ The linguistic classification of Paez is difficult. Since
 114 the research of H. Beuchat and P. Rivet it has been regarded as
 197 one of the Chibcha languages. This was not always the case. E.
 Castillo i Orosco emphasized in 1735 that in its grammatical
 structure Paez is very different from Chibcha (p. 63). It was C.
 Cuervo Marquez who first regarded Paez as a Chibcha language
 (p. 199). H. Pittier de Fábrega emphasized in 1907 that the re-
 lationship of Paez refers only to the rules of grammatical construc-
 tion; the vocabulary is completely different (p. 341). Then in
 1910 Beuchat and Rivet investigated all the North Andean languages
 in a work of large scope and then confirmed the distribution of the
 Chibcha languages from Nicaragua to Ecuador. According to this,
 the majority of the Colombian tribes spoke Chibcha (pp. 193-198).
 Up to now this classification has neither been examined in greater
 detail nor disproved by linguistics. This may be left to the
 philologists. Here there will only be a few remarks about the
 problem of the Chibcha languages in general and that of Paez as an

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Ill. 153. The shaman Cerbeleón Niunda.



LXXX

1: Nachigall--267 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paéz SC15

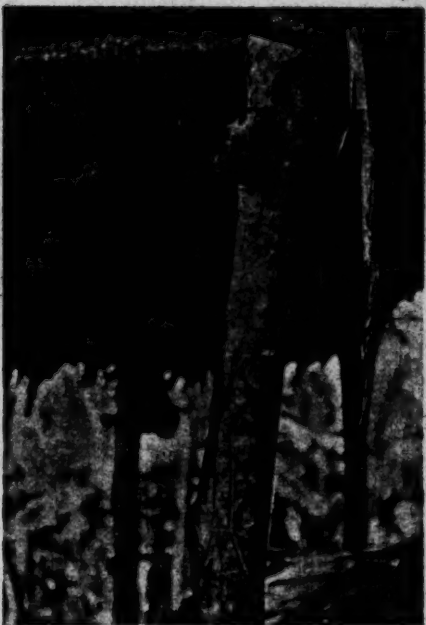
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Ill. 152. Mother with child.



1: Nachtigall--288 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paer SC15

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CI

Ill. 200. Skull trophy and figure of a spirit.

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● 756
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Ill. 199. The shaman Felisia Ipia with her shaman's staff.

1: Nachtigall--292 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paetz SC15

CV



Ills. 208 and 209. Ritual purification after a burial.

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Ills. 210 and 211. Sucking out the "pest."



CVI

1: Nachtigall--293 E-5 (1952-1953) 1956 SC15 Paez SC15

1: Nachtigall--294 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Prez SC15

CVII

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Ill. 213. The shaman fights the spirits with staff and liana.



Ill. 212. The shaman spits the "pest" into a hole.

/CVIII is a blank page./

/287 cont./

- 63/ climate and vegetation. Although Paez culture is certainly unitary, each parcialidad presents different nuances which are evident even in the mythology and language. The antropomimia is quite different in each parcialidad.

Nowadays there are 16 parcialidades, four of which belong to the municipio of Inzá and the remaining 12 to that of Páez (Belalcázar).

- 771 Magic and medicine. -- There are three institutions which
132 go in unison and encroach upon others, which explain the causation of sicknesses, the treatment for them, and serve as escape valves for aggression. They are:

- a) The one made up of the trilogy of supernatural beings named Duende /ghost/, Echi, and Arco /rainbow/;
- b) The institution of the medicine man, and
- c) Sorcery.

- 753 a) Duende, Arco, and Echi are the causers of illnesses,
796 each of them producing a specific symptomatology which serves
● [75] as the basis for the diagnostics of common people, a diagnostics
[787] corroborated by the divining activities of the medicine man.

These supernatural beings cause illnesses by puncture, aroused by the annoyance that they suffer because of the sorcerers' practices, or by those who had contact with corpses and did not go through the mandatory purification, or because people have passed through places that are taboo, such as bogs and lagoons, or have failed to comply with the rites and ceremonies when slaughtering cattle or when harvesting new clearings, or because they have not observed "custom" at the first menstruation or childbirth.

- 752 b) In the institution of the medicine man the functions of
787 divination, magic, and medicine are entwined. More precisely, the medicine man is a diviner-shaman-curer who has undergone an /288/ apprenticeship in the profession with an esteemed and experienced master or with the help of a guardian spirit seen in actuality or in dreams; the latter are the best

medicine men.

000 /288 cont. /

756 medicine men. To cure the patient, he divines which of the
755 supernatural beings caused the illness, proceeds to placate him,
[787] and then prescribes medicines to the patient. If the placion
is not successful, the patient literally sinks into despair. The
indispensable articles for all curing are coca, tobacco, and
[462] aguardiente. The medicine men are persons well along in years
[754] and belonging to the masculine sex. They cannot cure the
effects of sorcery, although they can protect themselves against
it.

754 c) Fifty per cent of all illnesses, the informants state,
[753] are caused by sorcery, and by the same token 50 per cent of
[761] the deaths, since sorcery is incurable. The sorcerers conceal
their activities, and it seems that all adults are potential sor-
754 cerers. The institution of sorcery is a true escape valve for the
154 strong aggressive impulses of the natives and to some extent
plays the role of a social regulator. Through it are channeled
the jealousy, resentment, and vengefulness of the natives.
The victims of sorcery are the most skillful and hard-working
individuals, those who have a good house, good crops, and a
growing number of domestic animals. Harvests and plantings
[683] generally are the object of sorcery. Sorcerers who are publicly
unmasked are exposed to the anger of the community and even
to exile, a measure taken not so much on account of their be-
[685] ing sorcerers as of their being thieves. All sorcerers are thieves.
Sorcery appears with considerable frequency in the symbolism
of dreams.

583 Marriage. --Marriage is monogamous and patrilocal. Both
[595] the chroniclers and Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba speak of
[591] the custom of the year of probation to acquaint the man with
[177] the skill, energy, and fecundity of his future wife. A thriving
[797] institution in times past, it is now in sharp decline owing to the
action of mission work. Obviously, the purpose of this insti-
tution is to find out whether the woman is hard-working, faith-
ful, not a thief, and to understand her ways in order to establish
a lasting union. Nowadays the Paez, before being married

/182 cont. /

423 The work on the land is a daily exercise in co-operation.
 461 Ownership by an Indian is an unquestionable right, and its de-
 [173] fense a categorical imperative. Lliban and Juan Chiracol
 [628] fought the Pijao for the ownership of the land and to defend an
 [648] inalienable right. Likewise, because the whites covet their
 land, they do not like to have them around /183/ and avoid
 receiving them under some pretext or other. Their security and
 [735] their happiness lie in the ownership of land. Poverty as they
 understand it, a shortage of food and livestock, is due solely
 to the laziness of those who suffer it.

857 Children grow up in continuous communion with the
 868 activities of their parents. While the girl helps her mother in
 household tasks and goes out with her to bring firewood from
 their respective clearings, the boys with their machete on their
 shoulder and their pouches of coca and mambe /lime/, exact-
 ly like their fathers, clean the clearings, build fences, weed
 their plantings, and when the maize ripens and the wheat grows
 tall, they spend the day defending them against the attacks of
 parrots, guaras, borugos, squirrels, and coatis. At an early
 age they are already doing the same tasks, but with the hope
 of building a house, marrying, raising children, and owning
 livestock, large quantities of coca, and sugar cane for their

342 chicha. In a way, the house is a necessary supplement to their
 pieces of land; furthermore, many are for the period of the
 clearings. The selection of a site for the house does not take
 into account either the beauty of the landscape or the level-
 ness of the terrain, but rather the inaccessibility of both. Only
 when the house is to last for more than one generation will
 they attend to certain requisites: solidity, construction or
 privately owned land, and the selection of an adequate site
 by the medicine man (té éu). One fine day the owner selects
 a site: "This is a good place to build a house and to live," he
 says. Then he takes there the medicine man, who during the
 night "thinks about" whether the site is suitable or unsuitable;
 he chews coca and remedies, takes mouthfuls of aguardiente

/183 cont./

342 and blows them into the air; with a small staff called "tama"
 756 he cleaves the air in such a way that sometimes he appears to
 787 be frightening away the spirits, sometimes threatening them,
 [823] and sometimes clubbing them. If the signs (reflex movements)
 are felt on the right side, the site is favorable; the opposite
 denotes that the site is uninhabitable. The spirits are angry,
 [761] or there are Pijao bones and gold at the site. If the site has
 not been selected by the medicine man, even if the house is a
 handsome one it cannot be occupied, for its occupants would
 die, beginning with the children, continuing with the mother,
 342 and ending with the father. The medicine man himself pro-
 756 hibits people from living in a house built without the fulfill-
 ment of this requisite. The medicine man's dictum is rewarded
 with a bottle of aguardiente, an egg (1) of coca, tobacco, a

- [804] 1. A measure of weight equivalent
 to the weight of a hen's egg.

calabash of chicha, and usually a meal with chicken. /184/
 789 This is called "care" /cuido/. When the house is finished,
 the medicine man will place special remedies at the ridgepole
 to prevent the ghosts or echi from descending by way of it or
 from being angered.

342 Then come the mingas /communal work-parties/. A house
 476 is built with the help of others. The people are invited, in-
 cluding the medicine man himself, who goes to work as a
 laborer. The work is organized. First, they go to the wood-
 land for wood; under the influence of the guarapo, voices re-
 sound, loud laughter is heard, and the deep sound of the
 "cacho" /horn/ rumbles in the montañas, multiplied by its
 342 echoes. Soon they report to the man in charge. They level
 335 out the ground that will serve as the house floor; they dig holes
 476 in which to sink the posts approximately two meters apart,
 driven in solidly, and tied at the top to cross-pieces with lianas
 (guák); the posts outline the shape of the house, and they will

/198 cont. /

IX

The Wax Comes from the Woodlands

796

Before the fiestero goes to stay in the pueblo, the laborers make the candles and distill the aguardiente while the fireworks-maker produces the firecrackers and rockets.

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The candles are made with the wax of the wild laurel (1)

1. Myrica pubescens Willd.

recently extracted from seeds gathered months earlier from the bushes in the woodlands. Laurel, of course, is a shrub with lanceolate leaves, which grows wild in the clearings after the harvest. During the months of April and May the branches are heavy with lead-colored and tiny seeds very similar in form to the fruit of the coffee tree. They are a favorite food of the wild pigeons, and for this reason, while they are ripening, the owner, or preferably his children, constantly frightens them away. This is a reinforcement of the magic protection supplied by the medicine man at the suggestion of the owner of the woodland. He has performed the exorcism to frighten away the unwanted birds: he has loaded his shotgun with chayuts (2) and

• [756]
[789]

2. Escrofulareacea.

shot at the pigeons. They will not return.

[4/5]

The seeds are gathered in fique bags. Ten workers gather approximately one arroba in one day. /199/ For the period of one month the seeds will be left to dry, scattered in a corner of the house, so that the wax will come out white and not green as would happen if this were not done.

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To extract the wax, the seeds are packed into small sacks or bags, boiled, and pressed at once. The wax falls with the hot water into a round container; on the following day, the water that remains at the bottom of the container is removed, and the wax is left to solidify further.

/199 cont. /

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Explosive charges are made in the following way. The powder is packed into small sheepskin cartridges; these cartridges /200/ are tied tightly with maguey thread. Then they are pierced in such a way that the powder can come in contact with the correspondent fuse. They make with these explosive charges:

Firecrackers: a charge attached to a short stick.

Skyrockets: reed tubes full of powder, with one explosive charge, attached to a long pole. They rise to considerable heights and end with an explosion.

Sifngers: firecrackers made of three charges attached to a stick.

Castle: a structure resembling half an ellipse, made of flexible rods to which the explosive charges are attached.

[796]

The fireworks-maker is selected especially by the fiestero or the albacero, and at the time of the fiesta he distributes the firecrackers personally among the elders with a great show of deference. The albacero must kill a pig or a sheep to reward him for his work.

[465]

[464]

The making of these objects is slow: a month or even more, not because it is complicated, but because steady work on it is tiresome.

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During the making of these firecrackers, with the relative tranquility that this implies, a man may come to know of a destiny which he possibly had not suspected: becoming a medicine man. While sitting at his work he may feel the "signs" that herald his future activity. This was the case with a medicine man of Calderas. As a young man he knew nothing about remedies or "signs." But as he was making firecrackers, he felt the signs. He had five children at the time. After that he learned what the good and the bad remedies were from another famous medicine man. He put his knowledge into practice, cured a sick man, and devoted himself to being a medicine man. The signs, they say, are sent by God.

5: Bernal Villa

SC15 Paez SC15

● 756

[For information on the Paez shaman (té eu) and his function and status in the society,
see category 116, pp. 1-11, 17-19, 29-36, and 38-47.]

/262 cont. /

683 and finally exiled him. The sorcerer nearly died. He com-
184 plained to the Alcadía of Inzá about the brutality of the cabildo.

The Alcadía had the stocks destroyed by force, in spite of the protests of the natives. The punishments of the sorcerers in the Parcialidad of San Andrés were about the same up to some 30 years ago.

683 Often, when there is a very dangerous sorcerer, the curers
754 band together in order to kill him. They call his soul, and
● 756 when it draws near they hit it with a stick smeared with chayuts.
774 The soul leaves with a whistling sound. When a volcano erupts,
[823] it is a sign that the devil is punishing the souls of sorcerers.

754 Psychological characteristics of the sorcerers. Broadly
157 speaking, the sorcerers are timid, resentful, aloof, with a very
156 strong persecution complex; they try to avoid contact with
people, believing that they see in each of them a presumed
accuser; they tend to be self-supporting; suspicious to a high
degree, they roundly deny the accusations of their victims,
regarding themselves furthermore as good persons, sound and
inoffensive; they pretend to know nothing about remedies, and
it is very difficult to obtain any information from them about
sorcery. Most of them are intelligent. Endoculturally they
are at odds with their own group, insofar as they embody the
struggle against the influences of foreign cultures.

The nasa are convinced that no sooner has the sun gone
down than the sorcerers are already at work. The most
dangerous ones sleep during the day. For this reason they regard
as peculiar characteristics of the sorcerers red eyes, an
evasive look, aloofness, an unpleasant appearance, egoism,
and suspiciousness. They look like criminals, informants say.

182 /263/ Socio-dynamic value of sorcery. Within Paez
754 society, sorcery is vital, overly active, and gravitates into
all the social interstices. But, as must be evident, at all times
and places it pertains to the realm of concealment. Its exe-
cutors are surreptitious. They always act in the shadows.

/310 cont./

- 243 As may be noted, the magical practices of the té eu are
 ● 756 absent, although there still exists that of the eating, which in
 789 other parcialidades complements his practices.
- 249 The cultivation of sugar cane is quite widespread in the
 273 temperate thermal level, although the plantings are not ex-
 tensive and are not pursued for commercial purposes; they
 serve only for obtaining guarapo (fermented cane juice) for in-
 dividual and collective labor and for social affairs. Guarapo
 is an essential part of the domestic economy, in the same manner
 249 as coca. It is not produced for public pay. Each house has its
 257 sugar mill, either outside or in its interior, but there are no ovens
 or other accessories for producing panela. The latter industry
 belongs exclusively to the white or mestizo people.
- 249 The cultivation of the cane requires three weedings before
 the first cutting. Three cuttings with good results are generally
 obtained from each planting.
- 245 The cultivation of coffee is also very widespread. Its
 expansion is of recent date, but it already has strong and uni-
 versal acceptance, like cane and plantains. The method of culti-
 vation suffers from certain deficiencies: the shade is insufficient
 and inadequate; there is no pruning; the care is not very satis-
 [433] factory; many do not have pulping machines. The coffee
 245 plantings produce several arrobas per year. The monetary in-
 434 come of the natives in the temperate zone is provided basically by
 [439] coffee. They sell it to steady and familiar customers for prices
 [452] that are usually low. The coffee plantings secure credit for the
 natives; they often collect money or merchandise against a future
 245 harvest. Coffee has permitted them /311/ to acquire dishes, to
 434 modify their clothing, to enrich their agricultural equipment,
 177 to buy every once in a while the drugs of the "whites." At
 harvest time they eat meat regularly, and they are also able to
 pay wages for the improvement of their fincas. But, above all,
 [273] it opens the doors of the liquor stores to them. They consume
 considerable amounts of alcoholic beverages. They have not
 yet learned to make good use of their monetary income.

/320 cont./

23/ propose "trades." Traders who are interested in a cow, once
 439 they have located the true /321/ owner, assail him with proposi-
 tions for a trade. They offer young, fertile heifers, smaller
 in size and usually thin. In exchange, they obtain a large and
 231 fat cow. The profits are more than 200%. Before handing over
 439 the animal, the native invariably requests a bottle of aguardiente
 789 and pulls out a few hairs from the left eye or lower leg of the cow
 [782] as an offering to the Duende /ghost/, the virtual owner of the
 lands and animals and potentially the protector of their multi-
 plication. Likewise he blows chayuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.)
 on the rope with which the cow will be led, so that it will not
 create difficulties along the way. There are frequent statements
 by whites and mestizos, cattle traders, to the effect that, when
 this requisite was not met, the cow stopped halfway on the
 journey and could not be budged by any human power. Then it
 sufficed to blow at the rope with chayuts to make her move again.
 How can this be explained? The persons relating the story re-
 peatedly ask.

231 Occasions for the consumption of cattle are mingas, re-
 262 ligious fiestas, and, on a small scale, the post-matrimonial and
 [796] baptismal "cuidos" (courtesies for the sponsors). The meat and
 [527] the skin are both used. The latter is not tanned, but dried in
 [281] the sun and used as a sort of mattress for sleeping. The milk is
 [234] not used. When they sacrifice a head of cattle that comes from
 262 "wild" places, such as bogs, lagoons, or montañas, they take the
 782 precaution of calling the Té eu. He orders them to take a small
 ● 756 piece from each organ and to put a little blood on a reed. He
 231 wraps all this in a leaf, puts a sprig of contento (chayuts) on top
 of it, then goes toward the east, and, in a spot determined by
 him, leaves the bundle, taking care always to put it to the left
 of things such as trunks or rocks. This placement does not have
 any special ceremony associated with it; it is not accompanied
 by prayers or the blowing of medicines, and it does not take
 place at a specific time. It is an offering to the Duende which
 is performed before consuming the meat, the primary purpose
 of which is to please him.

/352 cont./

261 The natives lose weight -- says an informant -- because first they eat good and abundant food, and then they do not have
[262] enough to eat and, naturally, grow thin. In times of scarcity ("hambruna"), they eat fríjol cache and its tender leaves, in the same way as they eat mejicano leaves; cabbages are gathered leaf by leaf, for at this time of year they are less abundant.

When there is nothing more to eat they kill a cow and eat meat; they hunt /353/ wild pigeons or chachalacas, cook them, and
[273] drink the broth with salt. They also make chicha, and the old
[276] people get drunk every day; the consumption of coca increases: "the people chew and chew so as not to feel too hungry"; the little ones suffer hunger because they do not know how to chew, and they eat mejicano, which does not require the salt that they try to save. Finally, they end up going to the fincas of the "whites" to earn food, coca, and a few centavos.

264 When they do not work, they have one meal at 3:00 P.M. and another at 6:00 P.M. After the first meal they lie down and say, "We are making estancia," that is to say, digesting and
[261] getting nourishment. Skinned maize with saffron, chicken, plantains, and peppers gives more "estancia."

261 They barely eat enough unskinned maize, which they cook as mote, but they eat to excess the sancocho of potatoes and fríjol bueno because it is so good. No one eats an entire chicken. It is divided. In the former state they would believe that the chicken was stolen. Mejicano makes some people vomit, because they are used to eating meat, and they are the ones who might be thieves.

As a rule, everyone eats only one plate of food; if they eat
● [75] two, they cannot walk. The curers eat little in order to be able to
[787] spend the night in vigil, devoted to their activities; they always
[262] eat eggs and they avoid eating peppers in order to be able to
[263] feel the "signs" (31).

31. Vernal Villa, S. "Magia y Medicina entre los Paeces /Magic and Medicine among the Paez/," p. 248.

/366 cont./

177 are more acculturated. All of these circumstances have permitted the extensification of the cultivation of garlic, wheat, and especially potatoes, as well as the extensification and intensification of livestock-raising, which, in turn, has given rise to a series of phenomena now in the full process of development, such as the modification of work schedules and agricultural cycles, the regularization of trade and transport, the appearance of the habit of capitalization and of the use of credit, the use of barbed wire for fencing, reforestation on a eucalyptus base, the development of household industries, modification of the diet and eating times, adoption of specific objects of adornment by the women (gold earrings), disappearance of coca consumption ("deculturation," to use Fernando Ortiz's neologism), social stratification, the undermining of the institutions of the té eu and the nasa jiji, the calming of the real and magical aggressiveness against the "whites," intensification of primary education, and greater conviction in religious beliefs.

In the temperate zone in general and in San Andrés in particular, the cultivation of coffee is in full swing, and the consequences of this economic fact are beginning to be visible. The palm hat, very common in the parcialidad of Calderas, is not seen very much among the Andresunos, who are adopting the cloth hat of the "whites"; some of them already wear sandals or shoes, and likewise the use of the poncho and of the bag of a manufacture foreign to the culture is spreading; the agricultural implements are being enriched in the same manner as modern housewares; although the most widespread labor system in the parcialidad is that of the mingas, some already pay daily wages for work on their fields; the consumption of meat and panela is quite frequent when there are coffee harvests. It is also interesting that in the entire parcialidad there are only two té eu, who are not greatly respected, though they utilize the services of the té eu of Calderas.

137 /367/ The "criolla" is the most widespread variety of sugar cane and the one which has been fully accepted by the natives, to the point of being regarded as their own, but other new

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The graves were "large and deep," and chiefs were buried with some of their wives and with food and chicha (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32).

In Colonial times, according to Del Castillo, the *Páez* removed a dying person from his hut but burned the house if anyone died in it. They had given up cremation, however, and buried in the earth, building a fence around the grave. Today, they cover the corpse with a white shroud and place it in the middle of the house with candles and flowers. Here it is watched over one night by relatives and friends, and then buried in a cemetery, where each relative tosses some earth into the grave saying, "Go with God." The mourners then bathe in the river without disrobing, and in the evening hold a banquet with chicha, sancocho (vegetable stew), meat, and tortillas. For 9 days a cross, a container of water, and a candle must be kept on the deceased's bed, the water being kept there so that the soul may drink. The relatives pray every night. A month after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, which are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spits leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the other half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he blows chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean. The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk.

The modern burial customs of the *Moguer* differ somewhat from those of the *Páez*. The former dance for 9 days before and after burying a dead child. Because of the special ceremonies for adults, young Indians gather and prepare wood to be burned at their own funerals. When an adult dies, relatives and friends bring wood, food, and money to the house, and work for his family, who pray and weep for 3 days over the body. On the fourth day, they carry the body in a procession to the cemetery. Upon passing a house or inn where the deceased was accustomed to take chicha, they stop and drink. The burial procedure is like that of the *Páez*. Back at the house, they purify the objects used by the deceased over the fire, and leave his clothes and the hide he used as a bed at the river 9 days, after which they may be used. Meanwhile, the guests remain with the deceased's family, helping them. On the 9th day, they extinguish all lights and go to the nearest hill to mourn, while a shaman remains in the house to catch the soul of the deceased. He chews coca, spits it in all directions, and beats around with sticks to make the soul come out. Then he lights

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SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

(B. A. B. Bull. 143)

- 756 the fire and turns on the lights, and everyone returns to examine a
787 layer of fine ashes placed beforehand at the door. If the ashes shows
775 the footprints of an angel, they believe that the soul is saved,
784 but if the footprints are those of a bird, they believe that the soul is
condemned to hell. In some cases they ascertain the fate of the soul
by the kind of bird prints.

WARFARE

- 726 The *Pdez* and *Moguez* were particularly warlike. Their attacks
were staged in the morning, accompanied by yells and the sound of
trumpets, horns, sea shells, and drums. They were generally armed
[411] with great spears or pikes, spear throwers, and slings. When fighting,
they would first hurl javelins with their spear throwers, then use their
slings, the missiles for which they carried in a pouch, and finally pick
up their spears or pikes for man-to-man struggle. They also formed
closed squadrons, men with clubs alternating with spearmen. The
former would step forward to wield their clubs, and then draw back to
their positions for protection. Their best defense was on high ridges,
from which they rolled large stones on their enemies. They perfected
these natural defenses by cutting or camouflaging paths on which they
prepared ambushes. They built trenches or pitfalls, which caused the
attacking Spaniards much trouble.

- 628 The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Span-
ish soldiers. The *Pdez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone
[648] statues in their territory "portraits of *Pijaos*," and the painted tombs,
[632] "houses of *Pijaos*." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the
[764] tombs.

727 To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it
on the road.

- 266 Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Pdez* and the *Moguez*,
which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and
stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are,
however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars
[175] against the Spaniards, the *Pdez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the
[648] *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them
over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882-92, ch. 23) mistook
[764] for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later.

- [114] As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with
resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes
727 Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the
[314] heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars,
meetings, and feasts.

535 There is much dancing today. The sexes perform in couples or separately. Among the *Moguez*, some of the expert dancers are paid to dance with all couples in a sort of "bambuco." Dancing is always a part of *Páez* ceremonies for the death of children, baptisms, weddings, saint holidays, and meetings for collective work (*mingas*) held in the evening when people return from their plantations.

[585] Dancing, as other social events, is subject to a special ceremony or etiquette, strongly connected with religious beliefs. For example, in the wedding celebration, a prayer is first said in which the souls of [608] the dead are asked permission to dance, or "scrape the floor," as they call dancing. Only the godparents and the bride and groom may [527] dance at the beginning.

526 The *Páez* do not masquerade, but the *Moguez* always masquerade during the period of carnival preceding Holy Week.

[524] Games.—Games do not hold an important place among these peoples. The children amuse themselves by imitating the activities [857] of their elders. The only game recorded is simulated warfare, performed as a part of a rite in honor of the dead after a communal [769] feast. Two teams under their captains or caciques attacked and shot arrows at each other. Even if some contestants were killed or wounded, no one bore a grudge.

276 Narcotics.—The *Páez* and the *Moguez* chewed coca leaves mixed in the mouth with lime powder. Coca chewing is widespread among [756] men, but very little practiced by women. It is used especially by the shaman when he is practicing. In Colonial times the use of coca [177] spread to the rural population of Mestizos and Whites in Nariño, Cauca, and Huila.

273 Alcoholic beverages.—These Indians formerly made chicha of maize, but today they ferment it with sugarcane molasses. They also have [172] fermented sugarcane juice (*guarapo*), and a sort of rum (*aguardiente*). The latter is distilled clandestinely in their huts from *guarapo* and certain herbs fermented together in earthenware crocks. The Indians drink *guarapo* every day, but restrict the use of chicha and the stronger *guarapo* and *aguardiente* to market days, religious feast days, burials, weddings, *mingas* or meetings for work, and witchcraft [462] ceremonies. *Guarapo* and chicha are made by women, who sometimes chew the maize to increase its fermentation. They are stored in large, hollowed tree trunks and in large earthen jars, which are kept in a special place in the hut. There is never a lack of these beverages for home use and for welcoming an unexpected visitor.

RELIGION

175 The early Spaniards had little understanding of the religion of these people. They reported that the Indians had but few idols and no [771] temples or places of worship. Castillo mentions that they wor-

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Castillo mentions that they wor-
shipped the sun, in whose honor they met and danced in places called
"Itaqui-finé," i. e., the place where the sun revealed its mysteries;
and that they venerated a kind of culture hero called Guequiau.
It was he who instructed shamans (mohanes).

This hero has a counterpart in the religious legend of Juan Tama,
the Son of the Star. One day when the Morning Star shone very
brightly, some Indians found a child in a gorge—ever since called
the Gorge of the Star. This was Juan Tama. They picked him up
and entrusted him to a woman to nurse, but he nursed so much that
her milk dried up. He was given to another woman, whom he also
made very weak. They then said that he could not be nursed by a
woman, and gave him food. After he grew up, he married the female
chief of Huila, Doña María Mendiguagua, and became chief of all the
Indians. He instructed people and explained to them how to keep
the land for themselves and not mix with White people. He pro-
nounced them invincible and summoned a chief from Pitayó, called
Calambás, whom he appointed his manager. Calambás rebelled,¹¹
but was defeated by Juan Tama, who pardoned him on account of
his bravery, and conferred on him and his heirs the right to rule the
Páez in Bitoncó. As death approached, Juan Tama went to the
lake on the páramo of Moras and sank into the waters. He had
come out of this place and returned to it, leaving no heirs.¹²

In the neighborhood of Bitoncó there is a rock with what appears
to be human footprints. When the Indians pass it, they uncover
their heads and say, "The Holy One came this way." Another rem-
nant of the cult of Juan Tama is the custom that each member of
the council spends one week at the shores of the lake before the end of
his term to render an account to Juan Tama of his actions in office.
Likewise, newly elected officers, as soon as they receive their staffs or
insignia of authority, spend a week at the lake. They toss silver
coins into it, wash their staffs, and pray for strength to rule well.
This ceremony, performed with the greatest secrecy, is called the "cur-
ing of the staffs." Recently, however, the Indians have stopped
"curing" their staffs in the lake, for they say that Juan Tama is angry,
and whenever they approach the lake, it rains and storms badly.

In the Guanacas section there was another sacred lagoon, called
Tumbachí, which was recently drained because a snake that lived
there attracted girls and kept them for a whole year, and then re-
turned them when they were about to become mothers.

These tribes believed that the soul comes back to life.

Witchcraft was strongly developed among these Indians, who still
believe in most of its practices, in spite of the catechization forced
upon them by the missionaries.

¹¹ During the War of Independence, as well as in subsequent revolutions, the Indians of the family named
Calambás distinguished themselves as warriors.

¹² We are indebted to Father David González for this legend, told to him by an old Indian in Lema.

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cluding vegetables, cornbread, eggs, and chicha, which he piles on the church floor, together with wax candles—one if the person does not have anyone in particular to remember, two for each deceased relative. When Mass begins, they throw flowers on the presbytery, as an offering to the souls of children. Afterward, they go to the cemetery in procession, and the souls of the departed come down to the empty church to take the food. Later, the people sell whatever the souls left or failed to eat. Everyone buys something, the captain's assistant collecting the money, while the constables of the council, raising their whips and shouting insults, prevent frauds in the general disorder. The money from the sale is given to the priest to pay him for the work in the rites. As each person leaves the church, he kisses a crucifix held by the sacristan at the church door. They kiss it once for each dead person whom they wish to remember and pay a cent each time. In addition to offering food at the church, the Moguez cover their tables at home with food, which is also intended for the souls of their dead, and at the end of 2 or 3 days they eat the food, saying that they are eating what the souls have left.

Christmas and Holy Week are both great occasions for the Indians, who celebrate them with music and some of their ancient rites. Even though a priest may not be present, they conduct the rites in a manner that dates from Colonial days, when a Pdez Indian named Undachí tried to combine Catholicism with their own religion. The man claimed to be able to see God, who used to come among the Indians and talk to him in his own Pdez language. The new religion included a chapel, Mass, and candle and flower offerings.

Sickness.—Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, such as having sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglecting to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death occurred.

To fight disease they still have shamans. Moguez shamans use tobacco, coca, plants known as yacuna and chundar, and rum in their practice. After remaining shut up in a dark room for a night, they either confess their inability to cure the sick person or proceed to administer the traditional medicines. Sickness is conceptualized as an animal, which enters the stomach, head, or other part of the body. In former times, the shaman fasted with the sick person, abstaining from salt and fat and taking only coca and chicha. Today, he requires that only the patient fast.

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[B. A. B. Bull. 148]

- 75 requires that only the patient fast. He spits coca juice on various parts of the sick man's body, and at night performs a ritual to "take out the dirt," i. e., the cause of the disease. In the course of his treatment, the shaman goes out to a hill to gather fireflies. He places them in a vessel and buries them, as they are supposed to be the harmful evil spirits sent by the person who caused the sickness. They are thought to turn against the person who sent them, whom the shaman identifies by his shadow, which he detects in the darkness of the night.
- [825]

THE CULTURE OF THE PIJAO

- 800 Despite 48 expeditions prior to 1611 against the *Pijao*, one of the most fearsome and savage people in Colombia, the Spaniards learned little about their culture. Friar Pedro Simón collected the most details regarding their usages and customs.

EXISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Pijao food was very similar to that of the peoples previously described. The most common cultivated plants were maize, yuca, arracacha, beans, potatoes, and other roots and tubers; and many fruits, such as avocados (caca), papayas, plums, pineapples, and uchuva (a kind of cherry). The Indians got many fish from the rivers, especially the Magdalena River, and on the mountains they hunted pumas and "ocumaras," a sort of anteater. They cultivated vegetables, but not fruit trees, in fields which the Spaniards always sought to destroy and burn.

HABITATIONS

Dwellings were spacious and high. They had walls of wood and mud (bahareque) whitewashed with clay or white earth, and were provided with furnishings, such as wooden chairs. The conquerors found the chief, Carlacá or Calarcá, sitting in state in one of those chairs in his house. Some people lived temporarily under the shelter of trees and palms, perhaps only while farming.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The *Pijao* generally went entirely naked, hence the name "Pinao" (men of large sex) given by the Spaniards, a word which soon became "Pijao." They painted their bodies with the substance obtained from the seeds of the amotto tree, and some groups wore small cotton blankets (mantas). Men and women protected their heads and long hair with hats, not unlike bonnets, woven of palm leaves. They adorned their bodies with many feathers in a manner which the Spaniards described as "quaint and odd liveries made of feathers in various and pleasant colors," and wore some gold ornaments. They

[pp. 957 ff Not processed]

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757 MEDICAL THERAPY--extent of differentiation of medical from magical and mental therapy; home remedies and self-medication; resorting to a specialized practitioner (e.g., circumstances, arrangements, payments); diagnosis (e.g., examination for symptoms, diagnostic aids); consultations; therapeutic principles (e.g., counterirritation, homeopathy); therapeutic methods (e.g., bloodletting, administration of cathartics and emetics, medication); prescribed regimen (e.g., rest, diet, isolation); remedies for specific complaints (e.g., fevers, colds, toothache, indigestion, rheumatism, infectious diseases); etc. See also:

Ideas about anatomy and physiology	82	Medical research	742
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Materia medica and pharmacology	278	Surgery	752

/143 cont./

224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18 who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to [789] kill a bear (éswiy). One must then rub its fat into the right [237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear. [262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would [122] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter [263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed.

[237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a healing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one [752] must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured [757] limb will heal immediately and will become considerably

224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a 292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (móno), [825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on [439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since, [126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey 224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gělyómp spirit, but the 776 other men were, for gělyómp screams and makes a noise when human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they become quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot do anything to several men together, however, since he could make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let them-

224 selves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so 776 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke 515 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gělyómp 783 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure

[296] and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed; they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition, [824] they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs śu and śáyuts, which they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether [761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken

part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by, he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting.

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164 cient testimony, they have their share of physical ailments. Besides itch (*lél*), tumors of several kinds (*lél-sék*, tonsillitis; *kwi*, tumor in the groin), they have original names for smallpox (*hu-gwi*), which I was told often rages among them, for diarrhoea (*u-kitt*), dysentery (*mu-gwi*), and intermittent or malarial fevers (*ya-ya-gwi* in the ancient dialect, *kwi-kwi-ai* in that spoken at the present day).

757 Of the practices and superstitions made use of in the cure of
114 these diseases I could gain no information, but it is very probable that the Paéz still have their own medicine-men.

CLOTHING. PERSONAL ADORNMENT

291 At present the wool obtained from the numerous sheep kept
286 by the Paéz Indians plays the most important part in the cloth-
[23] ing of both sexes. I cannot find any direct information on the fabrics used before the introduction of sheep by the Spaniards, but it is most likely that the Paéz obtained cotton from the Indians of the Cauca and Magdalena plains, the cultivation and the manufacture of which into thread must have formed one of the principal industries in the latter. I have already referred to the great number of clay spindle-whorls found in the graves and on old dwelling sites throughout the Cauca valley. Judging by these we may feel sure that the former inhabitants were great spinners. On the other hand, the present Paéz Indians still weave most of their own clothing, and there is no reason why they should not have done so formerly.

291 The dress of the men consists of a pair of short trousers (*hiá*),
[177] that are evidently a concession to modern civilization. These are made of raw cotton cloth, or of imported fabrics, and reach from the waist to about the knees. Over the shoulders is worn a broad rectangular piece of white woolen homespun cloth, split in the middle in the form of a poncho so as to allow the head to pass through, and hanging free front and back. This is called *tund-ati*, i. e., 'the cloth that binds, or covers.' It is generally worn next to the skin, but sometimes a light cotton shirt, called *ati-peti*, is first put on. Over the *tund-ati* they carry on their left
[276] side, hanging by straps that pass over the right shoulder, the coca

/237 cont. /

753 cramps in the body, and furthermore that sorcerers see it in the
756 form of a turkey impelled to peck people.
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It seems obvious that what the Indians call Echimbe (red
753 Echi) or candelilla fina /thin glowworm/ is a firefly /luciérnaga/
825 somewhat difficult to capture and extremely fierce. They
differentiate it perfectly well from the fire beetle /cucuyos
(cucuyos)/. They say that it is an animal that God produced in
[755] order to harm the Christians. The curers call them and catch
them in their Kachí, while other Indians, chewing coca, catch
them anywhere and bring them to the curer to be buried.

[754] They believe that their fierceness is due to the fact that the
[829] souls of the Pijao are incarnated in them.

753 The symptoms of the sting of Echi are vague and im-
precise and refer solely to bodily pains.

The symptoms of Pijao "dirt" are recognized by respiratory
difficulties.

164 They differentiate perfectly well the venereal diseases,
● 757 which seem to be quite widespread in the acculturated
parcialidades. In Calderas they are said to have spread widely
among both sexes, without respect to age, and to have been
treated with copper sulphate, for the remedies of the Indians
were of no use. In Santa Rosa antibiotics are used. A curer
in that parcialidad maintains that those diseases were brought
from La Plata by wandering women and that it befell him to
treat two cases: one was serious and the patient died; the
second, not very advanced, he treated with yukchacha,
montafia barbasco, and fisa (bitopat or bodoquero). He ad-
ministered the juice for six days and subjected the patient to
a diet of chicken exclusively.

755 Remedies. The remedies used by the Paez curer are
757 vegetal. As a rule they are prescribed in combination. Thus:

/238/ To clean away the prans:

[683] Yacuma blanca, ul fiñi, ñundayuskei, shugues, chandur,
guepeyuskey, chayuts.

/238 cont. /

755 For the sting of Kallumb:

● 757 Chandur, ñushamuenda, white and yellow guapeshú, nica, tobacco, chayuts.

For the sting of Echi:

Tatsé, ul ñifi, yacuma blanca, shugues, tayuskei, siempre viva, shulape, shu, shupeñifi.

For the sting of Rainbow:

Chandur, ñushamuenda, black yacuma, ul ñifi, chayuts.

All the above remedies are cooling and serve to allay fever.

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<u>Native Name</u>	<u>Spanish Name</u>	<u>Scientific Name</u>	<u>Use</u>
Limoncillo	Limoncillo	Cymbopógon citrátus.	Infusion with panela and <u>aguardiente</u> against coldness for a woman in childbirth. Also used against diarrhea.
Nica	?	?	For combatting <u>ptans</u> . For hair of ghost.
/240/ <u>Nundayuskei</u>	Pateperro	?	Against <u>ptans</u> . The juice for diarrhea; with tobacco, for stomach-ache. The water from this for toothache; spit out half the candle <u>/candela/</u> to help allay the illness.
<u>Shu*</u>	?	<u>Sphagnum sp.</u>	For combatting <u>ptans</u> .
<u>Shugués*</u>	?	<u>Peperomia sp.</u>	For cleaning away <u>ptans</u> .

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<u>Native Name</u>	<u>Spanish Name</u>	<u>Scientific Name</u>	<u>Use</u>
<u>Shulape</u>	?	?	Against <u>echi</u> and for coughing.
<u>Shupeñin*</u>	?	<u>Peperomia sp.</u>	<u>Echi</u> and whooping cough.
Siempreviva		?	Tied to the head it allays pain.
<u>Muahi</u>	Tabaco	<u>Nicotiana tabacum L.</u>	With coca, it makes the "signs" circulate. Crushed, it checks hemorrhages. For combatting <u>ptans</u> .
Tap.	?	?	See <u>Bichach</u> .
Tatsé	?	?	For coughing; to restrain the pulse (<u>us</u>) when a child is frightened. Against <u>ptans</u> .
Tayuskei*		<u>Peperomia sp.</u>	For infections of the umbilicus. Whooping cough.

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756 In any case, "the curers have something and are kind,"
554 said one informant. They are respected, and at entertainments they are attended to in the room where important people (síndico, capitán, gobernador, eminent old people) are received, and they are served on larger plates.

Prestige is an advantage of the curer. It is not unusual for the curer to command more devotion than the capitán of the Parcialidad.

All the curers claim to be happy in their profession, and many are grateful to their teacher for his instruction. The advantage of being a curer is to be waited on by people, to be singled out from among the others, and also to be pursued for his knowledge, says one Calderon curer. Everyone seeks him out as a good curer; many of them are regarded as priests, for people come daily to their homes to look for them. They have more power than other people.

The curer has a high social status by virtue of his functions. But for no reason other than these functions. He commands respect and recognition for services rendered. No one can treat him badly. If during a drinking bout he is offended in some way, on the following day they hasten to make amends.

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756 /252/ Psychological characteristics of the Té eu. The
157 curers vary in age from 30 to 70 years old. As a rule, they
156 have eyes deeply set in the orbital sockets, a penetrating gaze, a readiness to converse and laugh, a gentle manner, not at all aggressive; they are temperate and show much self-control and sureness in their movements.

A characteristic motor habit: seated on a very low log, they give the impression of squatting; their arms rest on their knees and with their hands they stroke their temples or chin. This motor habit is prevalent among Paez men.

[177] Their clothing is typically Paez; they do not favor change.
[291] although they are friendly enough with whites. They always
● [757] advise their patients not to use the remedies of the whites or they will die.

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23/ arracacha. Dogs, cats, and pigs live, the first on kitchen refuse, the second by hunting mice, and the last on grasses and roots from the thickets. They are not familiar with breeds of cattle, hogs, and sheep. Only the guinea pig is regarded as American, while the other animals are said to be genuinely Spanish.

[236] Sheep seem to have emotional value because they provide the wool for people's clothing. They are kept with affection and rarely sold or eaten.

Dogs also seem to have emotional value because of being the guardian of the houses and fields. In addition, they have symbolic value: they are the iron curtain, the protective barrier against the dark memory of the Pijao. If the latter were to re-appear again, the natives argue, they would not be able to approach /323/ the houses, because dogs live there, which would inspire fear in the Pijao, for they are so dangerous for them that mere contact with their footprints or their hair would kill them. In the legends and tales there is frequent reference to these de-

[552] fensive concepts. The dogs have special names: Guagás (white), [685] kuchi (black), salgento, pitán, policfa. Dogs that eat sheep are invariably killed with a shotgun without previous consultation with the owner.

[262] Guinea pigs are the favorite food of children. They kill [252] them by strangling them and eat them boiled. These animals are [782] not used as offerings to the Duende. Nor do they serve as presents [755] for friends or relatives. They are also used to combat mental illness by covering the patient's forehead with the entrails of the still living animal.

235 They "cuidan" /show special attention/ to favorite persons [554] with chickens and eggs. They have mingas with turkeys. Eggs [262] are consumed, but in general they are sold.

[432] They use the honey and the wax from the hives of wild bees.

222 The honey, they say, is good for persons who suffer from "cold."

237 With the wax they soften hide lassos, and they occasionally use it ● [757] for illumination. Domestic hives do not exist.

231 Wild animals, such as parrots, chicaos /a kind of bird/, squirrels, and micos, are never domesticated.

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The *Pdes* family is completely under the authority of the father, whose wife and children obey him implicitly and may be punished by him. Nonetheless, the father must obtain his wife's permission to sell or exchange goods she produced, such as bags for coca, saashes, etc. Precise etiquette is maintained between fathers and godfathers (*compadres*). Whenever a man meets his father or his godfather, he must kneel to receive his blessing. The fathers and godfathers must embrace whenever they meet. In one case a young man was the godfather of his father's new son by another wife, so that in meeting his father the young man had to kneel bareheaded, and then stand with his hat on and embrace his father as a godparent. The father did not call him "son" but "compadre."

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—A very old custom among these peoples is that at childbirth the mother should retire to a special house or go to the mountains. If she was delivered in the home, she and the baby were bathed, and then the family left the hut and built a new one elsewhere.

Today both the *Moguer* and *Pdes* have a special hut for childbirth. The day after the child is born, the mother is placed in a hole up to her head and bathed with an infusion of leaves of "moquita," after which she washes the clothes and objects worn during delivery. She then returns to work and lives again at home. In the special hut, a *Pdes* woman is assisted in childbirth by another woman, or, as a last resort, by her husband, who must bathe immediately afterward. Two days later, the mother circumcises her son or destroys the virginity of her daughter. Four or five days after the birth and after the first bath, the father takes the child to the sacristan of the community for baptism with water, and then returns it to the mother. The afterbirth must be buried or burned at the place of the birth. About 15 days later, the mother takes a bath and washes her child and her clothes and objects, and returns home. Later, the child is baptized with oil in the church by the priest with the godparents present. This is an occasion for general dancing and drunkenness.

Puberty.—At puberty a girl was formerly taken by her parents to a hill, placed in a hole, and bathed. Each Indian then took her a gift. Pittier de Fábrega (1907) notes that at a later period a girl's puberty was celebrated with the "Itsa-kó" dance, the girl, bathed with chicha, remaining in the hole. Today, a woman must retire during her menstrual periods to a special hut, where other women bring her food and build a fire to warm her. Afterward, she bathes, washes her clothes and objects, and then returns home.

Men, until recently, underwent a sort of initiation, in which they were taken to the shores of the sacred lagoon of Juan Tama or to the

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